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Annals
OF
The House of Percy,

FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE OPENING
OF THE NINETEENTH
CENTURY.

V. 2. pt. 1

BY
EDWARD BARRINGTON DE FONBLANQUE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.


VOLUME II.

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ANNALS
OF
The House of Percy.





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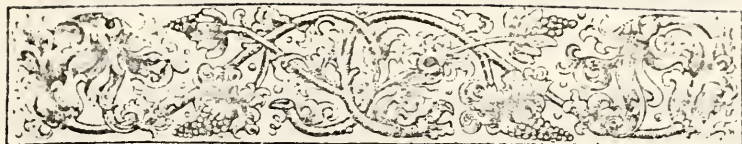
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ERRATA IN VOL. II.

- Page 9, line 11, *for* "William" *read* "Henry."
 ,, 10, ,, 21, *dele* "and" and "moreover."
 ,, 17, footnote 2, *for* "Sir John Bowes" *read* "Sir George Bowes."
 ,, 39, line 3, *for* "half-sister of" *read* "nearest of kin to."
 ,, 47, *for* "clericals" *read* "clerics."
 ,, 52, footnote 1, *for* "Robert" *read* "George" Bowes.
 ,, 82, 7 lines from foot, *for* "Atilla" *read* "Attila."
 ,, 83, last line, *for* "Ferneyhead" *read* "Ferneyhurst."
 ,, 91, footnote 1, line 2, *for* "by Sussex to Cecil" *read* "to Sussex, Cecil, &c., &c."
 ,, 100, line 2, *for* "Loughlevin" *read* "Loch Leven."
 ,, 111, footnote, *for* "Thirlstone" *read* "Thirlstane."
 ,, 135, headline, *for* "Congregations" *read* "Congregationers."
 ,, 146, lines 13 and 15, *from* "of Henry Percy" to end of evidence in inverted commas.
 ,, 177, last line but one from bottom, *after* "the" *insert* "eighth."
 ,, 187, footnote 2, line 2, *for* "moent" *read* "invent."
 ,, 195, line 5, *for* "rhymes" *read* "lines."
 ,, 202, ,, 19, *for* "ears" *read* "knowledge."
 ,, 203, ,, 19, *for* "Edward" *read* "Edmund."
 ,, 341, line 10, *for* "injustice" *read* "personal injury."
 ,, 341, footnote 4, *for* "Robert" *read* "Thomas."
 ,, 342, footnote 1, 4th line from bottom, *for* "Poppea" *read* "Poppæa."
 ,, 361, footnote 1, *for* "Knoll" *read* "Knole."
 ,, 391, footnote 2, line 3, *for* "amorous" *read* "amatory."
 ,, 427, footnote 1, *for* "Duke" *read* "Earl" of Bedford.
 ,, 448, line 12, *for* "Chislehurst" *read* "Christ Church."
 ,, 464, line 4, *for* "Dacres" *read* "Dacre."
 ,, 509, ,, 17, *for* "Earl" *read* "Duke."
 ,, 513, under headlines, *for* "Died 1777" *read* "Died 1776."
 ,, 525, line 8, *for* "nephew" *read* "grandson."
 ,, 529, line 14, *for* "sixth" *read* "seventh."
 ,, 529, footnote 1, line 3, *for* "for" *read* "from."
 ,, 537, date in margin, *for* "1765" *read* "1766."
 ,, 548, footnote 1, *for* "1767" *read* "1766."
 ,, 556, line 16, *dele* "in 1777."
 ,, 572, last line, *for* "Greathead" *read* "Greatheed."
 ,, 589, footnote 2, *for* "MSS. 2" *read* "MSS. Q. 2."

The House of Percy.

THE END OF THE WORLD



CHAPTER X.

Thomas Percy, Seventh Earl of Northumberland, &c.

Born 1528.

Restored, May 1, 1557.

Executed at York, Aug. 22, 1572.

*Contemporary
English Sovereigns.*

Henry VIII.

Edward VI. *acc.* 1547.

Mary „ 1553.

Elizabeth „ 1558.



Y his wife Eleanor, daughter and heiress of Guiscard Harbottall, of Beamish, Durham,¹ Sir Thomas Percy had left two sons and one daughter,² who, on their father's attainder and execution, appear to have been thrown upon the charity of their friends.

A.D.
1528—1556

¹ Their marriage settlement, under which the Earl of Westmoreland, Sir Thomas Hylton, and Sir John Delaville were trustees, is preserved in the Record Office. Four years after Sir Thomas Percy's death his widow married Sir Richard Holland of Denton. He died in 1548, and by a will under which Sir John Byron of Newstead, Nottingham (an ancestor of the poet), was executor, left her very handsomely provided for. Among her accounts there is an acquittance from Adam Holland of Manchester "for blacks supplied to Lady Alianore Percy for Sir Richard Holland's burial: £28 11s. 4d." She had previously been left considerable property by the widow Margaret Middleton, including four salt-pans in Northumberland, for sixty years at an annual rental of £13 6s. 8d. "to be tendered half yearly in the body of the Parish Church of St. Nicholas in Newcastle."

² Married to Sir Francis Slingsby of Scriven.

A.D.
1528-1572

The Duke of Norfolk writes :—

“As to Sir Thomas Percy’s chyldern I have entreated good Syr Thomas Tempest to take them into his custodie, they being at this tyme in the Bushopricke, withyn twoo myles of his house, and have promised hym to have ther costes payed for.”¹

A few months later Sir Thomas Tempest sought to be relieved of the responsibility of this charge, for the Bishop of Durham writes on his behalf :—

“Also Sir Thomas Tempest, at the commaundment of my Lorde of Northfolke, hath the sonnes of Sir Thomas Percy in his kepinge at his hows in the Byshoprick ; which howse is not stronge, but veray weyke, and within 16 myle of Tyndal ; no town betwyx, nor nodyr obstacle than the ryver of Tyne when the water is rysen ; for at low waters ther be 2 fordes that every man may passe, by whiche the thevys mych do ennoy our contrey. I know this to be trew by experience, for I have rydden the same way. He desyreth mych to be rydde of the custody of them, and demaundyth of me licence to be absent for the kepinge off them ; which resonably I cannot deny, and yet his presence wer veray necessary. Some odyr place, more within the contre, were more mete than his hows, and the chyldren be yonge, and most be amonge women.”²

It seems to have been apprehended that attempts would be made by Scottish marauders to capture these children, presumably with a view to ransom, or for the purpose of using the influence of their name in future raids upon English territory. It is not explained why they had been withdrawn from their mother’s care (possibly in consequence of her complicity in the rebellion),

¹ Norfolk to Cromwell, 8th July, 1537, *State Papers*, Henry VIII. vol. v. p. 92.

² Bishop Tunstall to same, *Ibid.*, p. 118.

and little is known of the conditions under which they passed the twenty years intervening between their father's death and the restoration of the Earldom.

A.D.
1528-1557

As they advanced to man's estate they took part in the defence of the Borders; and Thomas, the elder son, appears to have received knighthood at the hands of King Edward VI.¹ by whom he had previously been restored, "only in blood, as heir to his father" to enable him to inherit any lands that might descend to him from collateral branches of his house. He and his brother Henry were also under this grant permitted "to have and enjoy in survivorship all offices, fees and profits, and an annuity of 100 marks," granted to them by their uncle, the sixth Earl of Northumberland; but all the lands which this Earl had transferred in trust to the Crown, as well as those belonging to their father on his attainder, were specially exempted from the operation of this act.

Shortly after the accession of Queen Mary Sir Thomas Percy was nominated Governor of Prudhoe Castle;² and in the several outbreaks provoked by religious persecution under the new reign, he showed himself an active and zealous supporter of the Queen's cause.

When in 1557 Sir Thomas Stafford with an armed body of men set sail from France, and by a sudden onslaught succeeded in capturing the castle of Scarborough,³ Sir Thomas Percy was despatched by the

¹ He is for the first time called *Sir* Thomas towards the end of 1549.

² There appears to have been a long pending dispute between Thomas Percy and one Thomas Carey, gentleman, as to the right to this office, which Queen Mary, by an order in council dated March 14, 1555, decided in favour of the former, Carey being ordered "wholly to avoyde the said Castle at Whitsuntide," and to pay a fine of £20.—See *Alnwick MSS.* vol. i.

³ See Sandford's *Genealogical History of England*, p. 479, and Holinshead, vol. iv. p. 86. This Stafford, a younger son of the Lord Stafford, was beheaded on Tower Hill, 28 May, 1557.

A.D.
1528-1572

Earl of Westmoreland to recover the fortress, which he effected after a two days' siege.

So devout a daughter of the Church as Queen Mary of England could hardly remain insensible to the claims of one whose father had incurred ruin and death in defence of the Catholic faith, even if his military prowess had not given him claims to her recognition.

She accordingly, by letters patent dated 30th April 1557, created him Baron Percy of Cockermouth and, on the day following, Earl of Northumberland: "in consideration of his noble descent, constancy, virtue, and value in arms and other strong qualifications."¹

A portion of the lands which his uncle had bequeathed to the Crown were at the same time restored to him,² and in his thirtieth year Thomas Percy entered into possession of the great northern Earldom: amid the passionate enthusiasm of the population, and in the full enjoyment of his Queen's confidence and favour. The high offices, as Guardian of the Frontier, which had come to be considered the hereditary right of his house, were at once conferred upon him; he was appointed "Marshal of the Field against the Scots³;" Member of the Council of the North, Governor of Redesdale, Tyndale and Berwick, and Warden of the East and Middle Marches, "which conjunction," writes Her Majesty "will I trust bring all to obedience."⁴

Although better versed in the pursuits and recreations of country life than in affairs of state, the Earl of Northumber-

¹ *Fœdera*, xv. 461-462. The Charter, an elaborate parchment document with a richly illuminated border, and surmounted by portraits of Queen Mary and Philip of Spain, is preserved at Syon House.

² *Letters Patent*, 4 and 5, Philip and Mary. The restitution was made to the Earl of Northumberland in tail male with remainder to his brother Henry Percy in tail male.

³ The Queen to the Council of the North, May 19, 1557.—*State Papers*.

⁴ *Fœdera*, xv. 468, 472, and 475.

land applied himself diligently to the duties of his various civil offices; while in the more congenial employment of military command he proved an able and energetic guardian of the frontier. The project of a surprise of Norham¹ and Wark² Castles, by a strong force under the Queen Mother of Scotland in person, in August 1558, was defeated by his vigilance; and in the following October Lord Shrewsbury, President of the North, reports to the Privy Council "the great goode wille and much dylygence and pacyens in doing, and suffering the wether and want of things, of my Lord Northumberland and others."³

His correspondence furnishes many details on the system of border defence and warfare as pursued at that time. He quotes the frontier garrisons under his command at 1150 men "in bands of hundreds and fifties,"⁴ 450 of them being "spoiled inhabitants," and all the rest Northumberland men. The pay they received varied from 6*d.* to 12*d.* a day (equal at least to 3*s.* and 6*s.* of our money), but this included maintenance of man and horse, as well as clothing and equipment.

In another report⁵ he submits a plan for more effectually defending the border against the increasing forces of the

¹ Sir Henry Percy held the Governorship of this important stronghold, having, in 1557, obtained Queen Mary's sanction to purchase the post from his cousin, Richard Norton of Conyers, for £300.

² In December, Northumberland informs the Council that he had removed the Governor, Rowland Forster, from the command of this fortress—"I should be sorry for such a man to keep a place which is the principal key of that frontier. I have no private grudge against him, and would be glad to find him deserve well, as his friends are honest and trusty. The place is so important that I wish the Queen would take order with Mr. Grey to have it in her own hands, and so put it in order, that it shall not be in danger of being lost."—*State Papers, Dom. Mary. Addenda*, p. 463.

³ *Talbot Papers*, i. 29.

⁴ "Some are brought to Glendale at moonlight, but other times lie where in the dark there is as much danger, and more plenty of food."—Earl of Northumberland to Privy Council, Dec. 21, 1557. *State Papers, Dom. Mary.*

⁵ Same to same, 13 Nov., 1557.—*Ibid.*

A.D.
1528-1572

Scotch, "who should either be scourged with great armies, for which the time of year is too late, or kept at bay by great frontier garrisons." He considers that the force to be maintained in the Middle Marches alone should be raised to not less than 2,500 men: "footmen are not as much service as horse, for they can do nothing in winter but stay in holds and towns, otherwise they will be ready to follow and fray."

In her reply to this communication the Queen says: "You write so often and earnestlie that we have resolved to send now 1000 inland men for service on the borders, 300 of whom to be archers on horseback, 400 light-horse, and 300 arquebusiers. . . . every soldier on horseback is to have 12*d.* a day;" the Earl's own retainers, "if they serve above ten days, to be allowed 6*d.* a day; if less, a convenient reward."¹

In January the Earl, in compliance with the Queen's commands, raised 1000 men to garrison Berwick against a contemplated attack by the French "every 100 men to have two experienced leaders;" and in the following April he writes: "Last Thursday I devised with my brother to burn a town in the Merse, called Langton, because it was a place of harbour for their chief officer, and there was much corn there. . . . We crossed over with 1000 foot and 100 horse at Norham, burnt the town and a large quantity of corn, and divers villages thereabout, and took a great booty of cattle. . . . Lord Hume and all the company, about 200 horse and 600 foot, so straightly followed, that my brother, after he had drawn the horse in order, was compelled to fight on foot, and after a long encounter the victory was on your side; 100 Scots killed, 400 prisoners; English losses not above six, and as many taken."

¹ Queen Mary to Northumberland, Nov. 1557. *State Papers. Dom. Mary, Addenda*, p. 461.

The employment of foreign mercenaries was at this period much resorted to for the defence of the borders, and the Queen now informs her Lord Warden that "3000 Almaines are ready to be transported out of Flanders," and would arrive at Newcastle by the 26th June. She requests that "As we are at great charge in entertaining these men. . . . they may not lie still but be occupied as often as may be to the damage of the enemy."¹ A.D. 1558

Within a year after his restoration the Earl of Northumberland had formed a happy marriage with the Lady Anne Somerset, daughter of William, second Earl of Worcester, and a long, prosperous and honourable career seemed to lie before him. Affectionate and single-minded, a warm friend, a jovial and hospitable neighbour and a kind and generous master; devoted to field sports and martial exercises and, although of an indolent and irresolute nature and possessed of little intellectual power yet, by no means devoid of dignity, or of a due sense of the responsibility attaching to him as the head of his house and as a great Border chieftain, what faith would have been placed in the prophet who should have foretold that, within little more than twelve years, this kindly and genial nobleman would have lit the torch of civil war and passed, through penury and exile, to an ignominious death on the scaffold?

The two Earls, whose names were soon to be so fatally associated, were at this time far from united. Northumberland and his brother had more than once complained of Lord Westmoreland's unfairness towards them. In May the Council writes in reply to these remonstrances: "You have heard untrue reports that the Earl of Westmoreland has, by letters or otherwise, endeavoured to discredit your services, and complained

¹ The Queen to the Earl of Westmoreland, June, 1558. *State Papers, Dom. Add.*, p. 497.

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to us of you, which you think unkind. As lieutenant he ought to find fault with any man about the service, but he never did about you. Therefore we beg you will not give credit to such false reports, nor listen to tale-bearers, who cause unquietness, and hinder the service, but consider my Lord-lieutenant your friend, and join him in all amity.”¹ The breach was not healed however, for in the following month the Queen instructs the Bishop of Ely, and the Master of the Rolls, “to examine the causes of the division between the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, and between the Lord Eure and Sir H. Percy, and if possible appease the same, or we must seek means of redress.”

On the death of Mary a change at once came over the Earl's position. The recipients of the late Queen's favour were from the first viewed with suspicion by Elizabeth and her counsellors. A minister who professed to believe the holding of the Catholic faith to be incompatible with loyalty to the Crown,² could hardly view without mistrust the son of so zealous a papist as the attainted Sir Thomas Percy, and who had moreover owed his restoration to the favour of Queen Mary. Elizabeth, moreover, was disposed to pursue the policy of her father, and to weaken the power which, within their own territories, was still exercised by the ancient nobility of England.

A commission for the redress of grievances on the border, of which, in 1559, the Earl of Northumberland was appointed the chief,³ was subsequently, when the matters under discussion became complicated by the introduction of questions relating to the claims of

¹ *State Papers, Addenda*, p. 480.

² “I cannot forget how your lordship dyd wyll me to holde y^e for a principle that popery and treeson went always together.”—Lord Huntingdon to Lord Burghley, 28 Dec., 1572. *Ibid.*

³ Appendix, I.

the Scottish Protestants, strengthened by the nomination of Sir Ralph Sadler, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, who was at the same time appointed Governor of Berwick. He was one of Cecil's most trusted and most able agents, and the secret instructions which he now received¹ imply suspicion either of the loyalty or of the capacity of the Lord Warden, whom Sadler in his letters loses no opportunity of disparaging, sometimes by innuendo relating to the danger of his religious opinions, at others by direct charges of incompetence or untrustworthiness.

Thus he writes :—

"As for Sir Henry Percy I saw him not yet; for he hath not ben nere the frontiers synse I came hyther, nor a good whyle before; nor do I judge him a man of such integryte as in any wyse may be comparable to Sir James Croft. And the Earl his brother is, I assure you, a very unmete man for the charge which is comytted unto him here."²

Again a few days later: "It is more than xx. yeres ago syns I had som understanding of this frontier, and yet dyd I never know it in such disorder wherefore, if you woll have the frontiers well ordered, you must appoynt such officers as can governe better, which, in my pour opynyon, might be so chosen as the Quene's majestie shoulde by them be a gret dele better served than she is now, and with lesse charge."³

And again on the 19th September, he reports that Lord Dacre "woulde be very loth that the protestants in Scotland, yea or in England, should prosper, if he might lett (prevent) it. And even of the same sorte is your Warden of the Est and Middell Marches here.

¹ See *Sadler State Papers*, vol. i. p. 387 *et seq.*

² Sir R. Sadler to Cecil, 29th Aug., 1559. *Ibid.*, p. 409.

³ Same to same 12th Sept., 1559. *Ibid.*, p. 444.

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. . . We suspect that th'erle of Northumberland is advertysed, from tyme to tyme, by Alen, the clerke of the counsail there, of all secret matiers, whatsoever they be, that concernith hym or any other."¹

Northumberland was however too powerful to be openly set aside or made an enemy of, and an unworthy arrangement was come to between Cecil and Sadler under which, while he was nominally consulted by his colleagues, secret communications were addressed to Sadler by the minister on all matters submitted for the consideration of the Commission. Confiding and simple-minded as he was, the Earl could not long remain in ignorance of these underhand proceedings, and of the mistrust which they implied; a mistrust quite unmerited, for there is at this time no indication whatever of any strong bias in favour of the Catholics on his part, and so far from being apathetic we find him thus rebuking his colleagues for want of zeal in the Queen's service:

"It seemyth the Quene's Majestie's pore subjects is rather further dreven off for the having of justice by our last sytting in comyssion, than yf suche comyssion had never ben sytt on. Therefore I wolde wish, and do think it most convenient, you shulde take in hand, to procedē for the helpe and relieve of this pore countrie, as ye were put in trust, when you cam in comyssion for that purpose. For I am sure ye are not a mynded that I shuld do any good, when ye kepe from me the originall (?) that I shuld be directed by."²

Sadler however persisted in his course of duplicity and petty annoyance. Thus when the Earl had obtained the Queen's permission that his brother-in-law Slingsby, the keeper of Tyndale, should, for his greater convenience,

¹ *Sadler State Papers*, vol. i. p. 453. The concluding sentence was appended to the letter in cipher.

² Northumberland to Sadler, 12th Oct., 1559. *Ibid.*, p. 497.

occupy a certain house at Hexham, Cecil, instigated by Sadler, did not rest until he had induced Elizabeth to revoke her sanction, and goaded Slingsby into resigning his office in disgust.¹ In like manner, Sir Thomas Clavering, Deputy-Governor of Norham Castle, a gentleman of unblemished honour, was denounced as "a Scottish spy" and required to be displaced for no other reason than that he held his post under, and by the nomination of, Sir Henry Percy.

The wardenship of the Marches was at best an onerous and unprofitable post, and one now little coveted by the nobles in the north. Its duties had become doubly irksome to the Earl of Northumberland, serving as he was under a Government which mistrusted, and with colleagues who irritated, thwarted, and deceived, him. In 1560 he accordingly became "an humble suter" to the Privy Council for permission to resign his office, and informs Sadler that the Queen had consented to his being "disburdyned"² and authorized the employment of his brother, or in his absence of Sadler, pending the appointment of a new Warden. The Earl had admitted his inability to give "sufficient entertainment" to his deputies, and Sadler was not disposed to undertake the duties of an office carrying no profits and for the discharge of which he had "neyther menne, horse, nor money." Nevertheless "though he was all wayes but slenderlie furnished for such a charge," he would accept it, rather than that Sir Henry Percy should fill the post, being convinced that neither he nor his brother was "mete to have the rule of any of thes marches."³

¹ The lengthy correspondence upon this trivial subject, in which the Queen herself did not disdain to take an active part, is published in the *Sadler State Papers*.

² The Queen's authority is dated 30 Oct., 1559.

³ Sadler to Cecil, 8 Nov., 1559. *Sadler State Papers*, vol. i., p. 585.

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When in the following year Lord Grey¹ was appointed to the vacant wardenship, he complained of his nephew² having raised objections to his occupying Alnwick Castle and "carried away the most part of the stuff there, and broken up the brewing vessels and other necessary implements of household. I cannot remain in the country without a house to live in;" to which the Earl replies: "As for my house at Alnwick I am forced to preserve it and all my provisions in the county . . . and must have diverse reparations made there during my absence," for which reason he begs to be held excused from allowing his castle to be made the official residence of the Lord Warden.³

The reparations referred to were long in progress, for when in the summer of 1562 he was required to receive the young Scottish Queen,⁴ he represented his inability to entertain Her Majesty⁵ the castle being "uterlie unfurnished and not so much as one bed or any part of household stuff and I being now in so grete want of money that I assure y^r lordship that I have not Forty Pounds. and I cannot sell part of my land without the Queen's licence, which

¹ The thirteenth Baron Grey of Wilton.

² Lord Grey had married a daughter of Charles, first Earl of Worcester. The Countess of Northumberland was thus his niece.

³ Lord Grey to Privy Council, 6 Feb., 1560. Earl of Northumberland to Lord Grey, 8 Feb., 1560. *State Papers*.

⁴ On her way to meet Queen Elizabeth at York.

⁵ This reluctance to receive the Queen of Scots stands in strong contrast with his subsequent eagerness to be honoured with her presence; but at this time, and for several years later, the Percies assumed anything but a friendly attitude towards Queen Mary, who had repeatedly complained to Elizabeth of the detention of her kinsman, Lord Keith, who had been made a prisoner by Sir Henry Percy in 1558, and was kept in captivity notwithstanding his readiness to pay any reasonable ransom. Another grievance, which formed the subject of a lengthy correspondence between the two Queens, was the capture by the Earl of Northumberland of a vessel which had been stranded within his territories, and which contained a large sum of money sent to her by the Pope. See Appendix II.

if I colde I shoulde be parting willinglye in any Her Majesty's service."¹ He concludes by begging that if compelled to receive Her Majesty under his roof he might be granted a loan of £1,000 towards his expenses. In reply he was informed that he was not required to entertain Queen Mary, but only to attend upon her "because of the estate that you hold to be Earl of Northumberland." The proposed meeting between the two sovereigns, however, did not take place.

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For the next few years the Earl is little heard of. In 1563 he was created a Knight of the Garter;² but his name rarely occurs in the public correspondence on northern affairs, and he appears to have passed much of his time at Petworth, whence some letters of his of this period are dated. His influence in the North however was still viewed with alarm by Elizabeth's agents. In 1565 Throgmorton writes from Scotland:

"Let the Earl of Northumberland be stayed in London; from all I hear it is very necessary; the papists in these partes do stirr themselves; look to yourselves and to Her Majestie's safetie . . . Sir Henry Percy is dangerous."³

In the following June the Archbishop of York, in compliance with orders from the Privy Council, forwards "a list of such as have the government of castles and seignories within the county of York," with his comments on their conduct and capacity. Under the head of Richmondshire he quotes the Earl of Northumberland as "too much given to pastime, and would be better fitted at Court," being "an open friend of Lady Lenox," and "giving the upper hand to Lord Darnley at table," besides being "obstinate in religion."⁴

¹ Northumberland to Cecil, June, 1562. *State Papers.*

² The installation took place on 23rd May, 1563.

³ Throgmorton to Leicester, May, 1565. *State Papers.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

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According to his own views, however, the Earl was very far from being fitted for Court life; the pastime to which he was accused of being too much addicted being found in hawks, hounds, and horses; and a hunting party, or a raid across the border, being more congenial to his tastes, than heading a crowd of courtiers in the Queen's palace at Westminster.

* * *

In the spring of 1568, the Scottish Queen fled from her distracted kingdom, and contrary to the urgent advice of her most judicious friends determined to seek refuge upon English soil, and to throw herself uninvited upon the hospitality of her royal sister.¹

Landing at Workington² on the Cumberland coast, she was met, on the 16th of May, at Cockermouth, by Richard Lowther, the Deputy-Warden of the Marches under his cousin Lord Scroop, who on the pretext of her being unprovided with a passport was constrained to claim her as his prisoner, and with every show of respect conducted her to Carlisle Castle, of which he was Captain, there to remain pending Elizabeth's decision as to her further disposal.

No sooner did these tidings reach the Earl of Northumberland at Topcliff, than he reported Mary's arrival to Elizabeth, stating that "for her enterteignment

¹ "*Maluitque se mari et Elizabethæ tutelæ, quam civium fidei committere*" says Camden. (*Annales Rerum Anglicarum Regnante Elizabetha*, vol. i. p. 159.) Lord Herries had written to the Deputy-Warden of Carlisle Castle to inquire as to the reception that Mary might expect in England; to which Sir Richard Lowther replied guardedly that if she came he would meet and protect her until the pleasure of the Queen should be known.—Chalmers's *History of Scotland*. Mary had herself addressed a similar inquiry to Elizabeth, but did not await the reply before entering English territory.

² A small seaport to the north of Whitehaven, whence Mary wrote to Elizabeth: "Je vous supplie, le plus tost que pourrés, m'envoyer querir, car je suis en piteux estat, n'on pour Royne, mays pour gentillfame; car je n'ay chose du monde que ma persoune comme je me suis sauvée."—Prince Alexander Labanolf's *Lettres et Mémoires de la Reine Marie Stuart*.

and saftye I have sent to myne officers and frendes there diligently to attend upon the same untyl your highness good pleasure be understood in that behalf." In his letter to Cecil, of the same date, his anxiety to be charged with the reception of Mary becomes more marked, and he urges that "seeing she hath happened unto my handes, I trust you, and other my dear frendes there, will be meyne that my credit be not so much impaired in the face of the country as she should be taken from me and delyvered to any other person in these partes."¹

Armed with an order *nomine reginae*, which he had succeeded in obtaining from the Council at York, he hastened to Carlisle with an imposing escort, and on the ground of her having landed within his liberties, peremptorily demanded the surrender of Mary. Whether acting under superior orders, or from mistrust of the Earl's intentions,² or that he was unwilling to lose the credit of the Queen's guardianship, Lowther refused to transfer his charge to any person whatever, except on the personal command of the Queen of England.

In vain the Lord Warden stormed and threatened; within his own garrison the Captain of Carlisle could defy even the Earl of Northumberland, and he courteously, but firmly, declined to surrender his prisoner. The scene between the two (which forms a curious illustration of the arrogance which the great nobles could display towards untitled gentlemen of social position little inferior to their own),³ is thus described by

¹ *Original State Papers*, Record Office.

² Sir John Bowes certainly mistrusted these, for he informs Lord Scroope that he, foreseeing mischief, had done his best to dissuade the Earl from his purpose of repairing to the Scottish Queen.

³ The Lowthers were at this time already a wealthy and influential family in Westmoreland and Cumberland. Sir Hugh de Lowther had been Governor of Carlisle under Edward the Third (see Jefferson's

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Lowther in his report to Lord Scroope:—"Whereupon the Earl used some rough wordes towards me, adding too that I was too mean a man to have such a charge, and that he marvelled how I dared take it in hand. . . . Afterwards he sent for me to his lodgging, and growing into some heate and anger, gave me great threatening, with many evil wordes and a like language, calling me a varlet, and such others, as I had neither deserved at his handes, neither at any mans, for the servyce of the Prynce."

Sir Francis Knollys, whom Elizabeth had at once despatched to the North with instructions as to the custody of Mary, gives a graphic account of his meeting with the Earl:—¹

"My Lord of Northumberland hearing of my arrival came from his house at Topcliffe to meet me on the way a' this side of Boroghbrigge; and with him Sir Nicholas Fairfax, Sir William Fairfax, his son, Mr. Hungate and Mr. Vavasor, *being all unsound in religion.*"

He proceeds to state that the Earl complained of Lowther's refusal to give up his charge, alleging, as his only reason for desiring to have the custody of the Scottish Queen, that "the Deputy Warden was too base a man for such a charge," and that, as he himself held the authority of the Council for her surrender into his custody, it was Lowther's duty to submit; "but I told his lordship, although the Council of Yorke had forgotten

History of Carlisle), and his descendant, who now held that office, was described by Dacre in a letter to his brother (*State Papers*) as "that proud Lucifer Lowther who thinks that none can go against him and that he can rule the North."

He had twice been High Sheriff of Cumberland, and was subsequently appointed Lord Warden of the West Marches; but finally lost Elizabeth's favour in consequence of his having permitted interviews between the Duke of Norfolk and Queen Mary of Scotland, while the latter was in his custody.

¹ Sir Francis Knollys, Vice-Chamberlain, to Cecil; 27th May, 1568. *State Papers.*

themselves, inasmuch to appointe the assistance of the shier to any other than to the Deputy Warden, or to allow of the repair of your lordship to the Queen of Scots, before her Highness 'special pleasure knowne in that behalfe; yet, nevertheless, Mr. Gargrave 'utterlie denied this giving of authoritye to your lordship to interrupt the Warden in any part of his chardge, and he saith further, your lordship maid your repaire firste, and had their allowance and letter of assistance sent after you; because they understoode by your letters that the Queen of Scots was arrived at a house of yours being an inconvenient place for her safety if her enemies should pursue her." He adds that the Earl complained that Lowther had refused to admit him into the castle to see the Queen "with any more companie than his page, not only to his dishonor, but as though he had been a stranger and a suspect person;" but that he (Knollys) had fully justified the Deputy Warden, and "informed his lordship that he had overshott himself very much to the discontentment of her Highness."

There is nothing on record to explain why, or the precise period when, the Earl of Northumberland conceived his strong attachment to the Queen of Scots,² nor certainly is there the slightest reason for attributing this sentiment to anything but religious sympathy. The story of his having fallen under the spell of those charms and blandishments which had proved fatal to so many of her supporters, may be dismissed as purely

¹ Thomas Gargrave, Sheriff of Yorkshire, afterwards knighted for his services in the suppression of the Northern rebellion.

² John Leslie, Bishop of Rosse, when a prisoner in the Tower in 1571, deposed that Queen Mary, *shortly after her landing in England*, had assured him that "she had many good friendis in the country that did favour her and stiek to her, such as th'erle Northumberland and his Lady, be whom she had many intelligences and messages."—Murdin's *Burghley State Papers*, p. 52.

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imaginary; for the Earl had never seen Queen Mary before her arrival at Carlisle, where their short interview was witnessed by Lowther and others; and Lady Northumberland, a woman of a high and imperious spirit, would not have been likely to become one of the Scottish Queen's most devoted adherents, if she had had cause for believing her to be a rival in her affections for her husband.

Without, then, attributing to the Earl any sentimental feeling¹ in the matter, it is quite intelligible that the mistrust evinced towards him by Elizabeth and her agents, and the triumph which the rebuff administered to him at Carlisle afforded to his enemies in the North, tended to expose him more readily to the Popish influences by which he was surrounded, and to drive him into a closer alliance with Queen Mary's party. Another circumstance had at this time occurred to embitter his relations with the English Court.

Cecil, apart from political considerations, had no love for the proud old nobility of England. He was ambitious, and, reduced as their power was, their social influence was still sufficiently strong occasionally to thwart or impede his projects. He was vain, and his vanity was wounded by the arrogance, or the yet more galling condescension, of the peers who declined to recognize an equal in Elizabeth's powerful Minister.

¹ "I heard a mermaid, on a dolphin's back,
Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath,
That the rude sea grew civil at her song,
And certain stars shot madly from their spheres,
To hear the sea-maid's music."

These lines have been applied, by Sir Walter Scott among others, to the two Earls, as leaders of the Rising in the North. It is far more probable, however, that when, in 1594, Shakespeare wrote his *Midsummer Night's Dream* he had in his mind the revelations relating to the then comparatively recent Throckmorton Plot, and the avowed devotion for "the mermaid" of such shooting stars as Henry Percy, Paget, and Arundel.

Never was there a statesman more devoted to the service of his Sovereign ; never one who had more deeply at heart the honour and the greatness of his country, according to the then prevailing ideas of honour and greatness ; rarely one whose commanding genius could so readily stoop to petty devices for the attainment of his ends.

The Earl of Northumberland possessed neither the intellect nor the ambition which might make a subject of high rank dangerous to a great statesman ; but the local influence of the chief of the Percies, who, among his own people, towered high above the Queen's most trusted agents, offended the Lord Treasurer. By a series of unworthy annoyances he had induced him to resign his public employments in the North ; he now seized an opportunity of impairing his private fortune. The Earl had discovered a rich copper mine on one of his properties near Newland, in Cumberland ; and Cecil, whose success in life was, in a great measure, due to his careful study of the character of his royal mistress, and to the skill with which he played upon her foibles, now represented to Elizabeth, probably in exaggerated terms, the value of the revenue to be derived from the mine, and the expediency of her claiming it by right of the royal prerogative. The Queen's cupidity was easily aroused, and she lost no time in despatching commissioners to the spot, who, without questioning the legality of her claim, still recommended, as a matter of equity, that the Earl should be indemnified by a monetary grant or an exchange of land.¹ This concession was opposed by Cecil, and in October, 1567, the Queen peremptorily commands Northumberland "to cease all further obstruction," which he was evidently not disposed to do, for a lengthy correspondence

¹ J. Newburn to Privy Council, May, 1567, *State Papers*.

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ensued, and as late as towards the end of 1568 he tells Cecil, in an angry tone, that he must insist upon being plainly informed whether or not he should be granted a reasonable compensation for the seizure of his property, as otherwise he should feel compelled to assert his rights against what he conceived to be an unjust encroachment on the part of the Crown.¹ It was while thus irritated against the Queen, and smarting under the sense of Cecil's unjust treatment, that the Earl of Northumberland gradually became the unconscious leader of a religious agitation, and the centre towards which the hopes and aspirations of the papal party converged.

* * *

Receding before the advance of religious reform, Roman Catholicism had made the northern counties its refuge and stronghold. Most of the leading families in those provinces had continued, more or less openly, to profess the ancient faith,² and the traditional position and local influence of the Percies and Nevilles, now, in the natural course of events, made their representatives, with no effort on their part, the champions and the mouthpiece of aggressive Romanism.

¹ The Queen even claimed the ore that had been dug up for some years past, whereas the owner of the mine denied all right on her part to any share in the property, and declared that the workers employed by her authority were trespassers on his lands.—See a letter from Northumberland to Cecil, 14th March, 1568, *State Papers*.

² The Earl of Northumberland is stated to have been "converted to Rome" in 1568, from which it might be inferred that he had professed, or at any rate conformed to, Protestantism in early life. It cannot, however, be believed that he would have been the recipient of Queen Mary's favours had he not been a good Catholic during her reign. The probability is that he had remained a member of the Catholic Church without openly practising its rites when these had been proscribed as illegal. In his "Confession" he stated that he had become "reconciled to the Church" nearly two years before the Rising, but this probably meant that he had then made a formal renunciation of the Protestant heresy.

The Earl of Sussex, a zealous Protestant,¹ had been appointed President of the Council of the North with a view to watching and counteracting the Catholic faction. He was not, however, a man to display suspicion against his own order at Cecil's bidding; and he continued to maintain familiar relations with the two Earls, even after their attitude had become subject to animadversion on other grounds than "unsoundness of religion." In April, 1569, he was, "with other good fellows" as he expresses it, a guest at Topcliffe; on the 15th of September he writes to Cecil from Cawood, that "my Lord of Northumberland and my lady, my Lord of Westmoreland, my Lord Talbot and my lady, . . . and all the principall gentlemen, and their wyfes of this countrie, were here with me a hunting all the last week;" and as late as in October he reports having met the Earls in council, and that they had assured him that they could not account for "the bruits of insurrection," and that "they would be the first to venture their lives for the suppression of those that would rise."²

These assurances he accepted, nor is there any reason to doubt their sincerity, the Earls having then been only the passive centres around which gathered the scattered agents of agitation in favour of the Catholic Church, and of the claims of the Scottish Queen. The position, although unsought, probably served to gratify their vanity, and in making a display of their influence, they did not, as would appear at that time, apprehend that they compromised their allegiance to the Sovereign.³

¹ On 15th November, 1569, he wrote to the Queen: "Besides my dutie to your Majestie I would for my conscience sake spende all my lyves if I had a thousande, agaynste all the worlde that shall drawe sworde agaynste our religion."—*State Papers*.

² *Ibid.*

³ There is no doubt that the two northern Earls had been encouraged in this attitude by other powerful nobles who prudently kept in the

1528-1572 They had yet to learn at a bitter cost how much more easy it is to gather the elements of sedition than to control its action ; and that in raising the sluices of popular discontent they ran the risk of being carried away by the torrent. Wise men would have foreseen the danger of such intrigues, and strong men might have directed the result ; but Northumberland and Westmoreland were neither wise nor strong, and thus, surrounded by crafty or reckless counsellors, they drifted helplessly from secret negotiation into conspiracy, and from conspiracy into open rebellion.

Throughout the autumn of 1569 the parade of armed bodies of men in which Westmoreland was fond of indulging had given rise to various rumours ; but even the vigilant and suspicious Cecil dismissed these as groundless fears.¹ "It may be," he writes to Lord Shrewsbury on 6th October, "you have or shall heer of a fond rumor styrrred up in the North Ryding and the Bishoprick, of a rising shoulde be ; but it was a vaine smoke without any sparke of accompt,"² and three weeks after Sussex informs Cecil that "all resteth in good quiet and I see no lykelyhood to the contrary."

As late as on the 30th October, Sussex, though he speaks of a conspiracy (the actuating motives of which are accurately described as "adhesion to Norfolk, attach-

background, however, pending the result of the agitation. The Duke of Norfolk, the Marquess of Winchester, the Earls of Arundel, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Pembroke, and Leicester, jealous of Cecil's growing influence, and angered at the succour which by his advice Elizabeth afforded to the Protestants of France, had combined to overthrow his authority.—See Camden's *Annales*, vol. i. p. 178.

¹ Bowes, in reporting these military displays to Sussex, says, "Soo that I gather they ryde the nyghte Southwards, and cometh agayne of the daye Northward, to make shewes, for what intent I knowe not."—Sharpe's *Memorials of the Rebellion*.

² *State Papers*.

ment to the Scottish Queen, and the Catholic faith," and of which he names Northumberland and Westmoreland as the ostensible leaders, and "my Lord Talbot and other nobles" as cognizant), states that he sees no reason to apprehend any overt act of disturbance. Had the two Earls been as designing and crafty as they were simple, their conduct could not have been better calculated to disarm suspicion. Conspirators ever shroud themselves in secrecy; what danger was to be apprehended from men whose foolish acts were open as the day, and who, instead of concealing, appeared anxious to invite attention to, their insignificant demonstrations of armed force? ¹

Yet these displays, however feeble in themselves, served to encourage the hopes of the disaffected classes, and to prepare men's minds for more daring deeds. The local influence of these two noblemen was so great, and they had come to be so generally recognized as the representatives of the Catholic cause, that Sussex, under the responsibility for the maintenance of order in the North, began to recognize the danger of their example, and advised the Queen to invite them to Court, and to keep them in London for a while; an invitation, under the circumstances, equivalent to a more or less protracted sojourn in the Tower. Elizabeth accordingly directed him to convey by word of mouth her command to this effect, and on the 9th November Sussex reports to the Council that he had requested the Earls to attend upon him for the purpose of receiving a message from Her

¹ "This day the Erle of Northumberland in a previe cote under a Spanish jerkyn, *being open soe that the cote might be seen*, and a state cap covered with green velvet, is returned to Brancepeth with VIII men with him all armed with previe cotes and dagges; but I am yet of opynyon that the Erles and their confederates are not determined of any open action, but makith these assemblies either for their owne gude or in greete feare to be apprehendid."—Bowes to Sussex, 10th Nov., 1569. *Memorials*.

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Majesty; that "Northumberland promiseth to come, but he wryteth not when; the Erle of Westmoreland refuseth to come for fear of his enemys, except he should come in grete force, which would be cause of offence, and therefore I intende to write the Queene's commaundments to them for their repayre to Her Majestie presentlie. My Lady Northumberland sayeth there will be no troubell; but I wyll no more trust any wordes, therefore I pray you give me good spyalls, for *within six dayes* we will see the sequel of these matters."¹

On the following day Bowes communicates to Sussex a number of rumours, and among others that the Earls had "swept up all manner of weepsons that can be gotten for money, for this day they boght all the bowes and arrows in Barnard Castel, and as I heere in Durham"; that in a few days "they meant to make open call for men for alteration of religion, and to spoyle such as wyll not follow their dyrections"; but that it was more probable that "without doing of evill they will go into Northumberland and lye at Alnwycke."²

On the refusal of the two Earls to trust themselves into the power of the President, he had no option but to convey to them by letter, and in these peremptory terms, the commands of the Queen:—

"I am driven to write that which I should have delivered to you by mouth, that as Her Majesty means to confer with you, her pleasure is that you repair to Court, which I, in her name, command you to do without delay. This was all I had to say if you had come hither. Let not vaine delusions abuse you with feare of your owne shadow; but submit

¹ *Memorials*. A good guess; the rebellion broke out on the 15th.

² *Ibid.* Bowes to Sussex, 10th Nov., 1569.

rather with humilitie to her clemency that never sought to use extremyte, than put in danger the destruction of your house, and force her to give you a sharpe taste of that which in her heart she never meant to say."

Sussex informs the Queen that this letter had been delivered to Northumberland in person by his secretary, and that "when his lordship had redde it through, and seen the effect was for his repayre to your Majesty, he showed some discontentment, and said he was not well used; but in the ende said he wolde consent to goo to Your Majestye My lady excuses her husband's feere upon intelligence from London, or the Cort, and she assureth, upon her lyfe, her lord will never seke to stirr the peple on to show any rebellion; and in the ende she sente me worde he wolde goo to your Majestye, but he wolde firste write to your Majesty. What answer my Lord of Westmoreland will make I knowe not; but suerly, seeing the daily delayes and excuses, I doubt moch they be led by ill counsel, and therefore I dare not put your majesty in hope that they mean to come; but by all likelihood they will in the ende either stirre open rebellion, if they may (which I trust they will not be able to do in Yorkshire), or retire themselves to some strengthes (stronghold), or seke to flee; and therefore the sooner your plesure is knowen what should be done in every of them, seeing the matter is now openlie discovered, the speedier execution it shall have, and, I trust, a shorter end." ¹

The Queen, however, knowing that she could not better suppress the threatened outbreak than by securing the persons of the two leaders, reiterated her command for their attendance upon her: "We are the rather

¹ Sussex to the Queen, 12th Nov., 1569, *State Papers*.

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moved not to be without some hope of a better consideration in them, when they shall perceave that your sending for them is upon our commandment, to come to us." ¹ Sussex ² accordingly writes again :— "The Queen has sent for you on your allegiance; if you come your friends will stand by you, and you need feer no enemies. If you have slipped, your friends will be suitors for you to the Queen, who never shows herself extreme, and has always borne you affection. If you refuse, you make enemies of your friends and seal the subversion of your house. Perform your duty, and do not take council of the wicked, who would make you like themselves. If you forsake this my offer, and now my last counsel, whatsoever false parasites shall flatter and tattel in your eares, loke not to escape the plague in this worlde that God hath appointed to disobedience, and in the worlde to come the punishment that he hath promised to be dew for it. And so my lord I take my leave, and pray to God he may put into your heart the spirit of dew obedience."

The appeal, though calculated to shake the weak resolves of Northumberland as to his future action, was not powerful enough to inspire confidence in Elizabeth's clemency. He accordingly wrote to her disclaiming all intention of rebellion, professing his readiness to spend life and lands in her service, but declining to obey the order to appear before her in person. His letter is the reflection of an irresolute and illogical mind, stimulated by religious impulse, but not untroubled by qualms of conscience.

"If your Highness mislike it that I have not made

¹ Elizabeth to Sussex, 10th Nov., 1569, Haynes's *Burghley State Papers*, p. 552.

² Sussex to the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, 12th 1569, *State Papers*.

speedy repair to you, according to your command given by the Lord President, let this my excuse serve me. My loyalty and devotion towards your majesty have been well known and tried ; and what bond of assurance I have made to you, you best know ; having done nothing that I thought might offend you, but as willing to serve and as fearful to offend, as your meanest vassal.

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“Yet notwithstanding, untrue rumours and surmises have been blown abroad and instilled in your ears, to carry you from me and to stain my fidelity ; which, albeit they have been, through your great goodness and deep consideration, tried and proved void and frivolous, yet have, I fear, left in your noble heart some suspicion of me ; whereby my adversaries have renewed their hatred ; and in this time especially, wherein some of your nobles have incurred your grievous displeasure, they have dispersed bruits touching the breach of my loyalty, never done or intended, and have blown the same abroad, not only by talk but by acts, under a feigned pretence of fear ; drawing to strengths and holds, where indeed they had no shadow given them of doubt ; but it was their device to bring me and others to be odious to your majesty.

“God and my conscience know that I never intended any disloyal act towards you, but shall be found ready, whilst I live, to spend life and lands and all that I have, against all persons whatsoever ; nor have I done anything offensive to law, as all the country can testify. Yet as the maintainers thereof are in these parts in some credit with some of your private counsellors, who—as experience has taught me—have been willing to hear matters to my discredit, I durst not adventure to your presence till I had craved your pardon if I have, through lack of skill, liked that which may not content your majesty, and till time had shown how untrue those slanders are.

“I beseech you, as I shall live and die your faithful

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subject, you will not give ear to reports touching my fidelity, before I have done one thing material, whereby the same may be justly drawn in suspicion. Doubtful of your favour, which of all earthly things I most wish for, I pray that I may be re-comforted and safely repair to your majesty's presence."¹

Elizabeth was not disposed to afford the "re-comfort" demanded. The pretensions put forth by the disaffected party in the North on behalf of Mary Stuart, together with the projected Norfolk marriage, had aroused all the bitterness of her jealous and vindictive nature. She now writes directly to the two Earls commanding their immediate attendance at her Court, leaving them no time for remonstrance, no loophole for evasion, no alternative between unconditional surrender and open defiance: "We do command yow upon the duety of your allegiance, furthwith to make your speedy repayre hither unto us without any delaye or excuse whatever the same be. And this do we trust yow will not forbear upon any synister and unloyall perswasions, or any other matter to induce yow to any mistrust without just cause or grownd: for so yow shuld varye from the dutyfulnes, which as yow many tymes pryvatly with grete Assurance professid to us, so have we ever made good accompt of the same, and shall do the lyke, untill yow shall give cause of the contrary."²

This letter does not appear to have reached the Earls until after the Durham outbreak, and there was now indeed small encouragement for them to trust themselves to Elizabeth's mercy. Pembroke and Arundel had but recently been consigned to the Tower on the mere suspicion of indirect complicity in the Scottish marriage

¹ Earl of Northumberland to the Queen. Topcliff, 13th Nov., 1569. *State Papers. Addenda*, vol. xv., 23, 1.

² Queen Elizabeth to Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, 19th Nov., 1569, Haynes, p. 552.

scheme; and Norfolk himself had followed them there as soon as he had placed himself within the Queen's power, with a confidence which the French ambassador humorously accounts for on the theory that he could not escape his fate, being of a race predestined to have their heads cut off.¹ The Houses of Percy and Neville could not claim immunity from this fatal experience, and with Cecil their declared enemy, and Leicester at best a doubtful friend, the reluctance of the Earls to obey the Queen's commands is quite intelligible. They dreaded, it is true, the shame of open treason, but the Tower and the scaffold had equal terrors for them. Whatever their scruples, however, they did not doubt in the abstract justice of their cause, and might not, even now, a powerful demonstration of armed force extort the concessions they demanded without the risk of bloodshed? At the worst, might they not retire to their strongholds and from thence make terms for themselves and their adherents?²

¹ "Je ne scay si c'est pour se confyer trop a leur cause, . . . ou pour esperer trop de la faveur et de l'appuy qu'ils se sentent avoir en ce royaulme, que ces Seigneurs se sont ainsy facilement venus commetre os mains de la dicte dame; ou bien qu'ils soient *subject a avoir la teste tranchée, et n'en puyssent éviter le mal, parcequ'ils sont de race.*"—*La Mothe Fénelon à la Reine de France, 7^{ème} Oct^{bre} 1569. Recueil des Dépêches des Ambassadeurs de France.*

² It appears to be clearly established that at this time, nothing more was contemplated than the liberation of the Scottish Queen, with a demand for some not immoderate concessions to the Catholics. A witness, unfriendly to Northumberland, stated that, in October, 1569, the Earl had asked him to represent to the Spanish Ambassador in London, that owing to the weakness of the Duke of Norfolk, who had "in a manner wyllingly yielded himselfe into Pryson, the matter which was expected to be done was not put in execution in tyme;" that the party had now neither men nor money, and that as Queen Elizabeth was so greatly incensed against him that "I knowe we shall not be able to beare nor aunswer yt:" he therefore thought it would be the wisest course for the agitators to disperse, and that for himself, he would seek refuge in the Low Countries, if he could have an assurance that "I, and such as shall come with me, may be receyved and entertheyned in that country according to our degrees and callinges."—*Deposition of Oswald Wilkenson, Murdin, p. 225.*

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As the breach with the Court widened, those evil influences which ultimately drove the simple-minded Northumberland to his ruin, became more powerful. The secret instigators of the rebellion continued from a safe distance to urge their dupes to action, and the more daring spirits on the spot, such as Norton, Swinbourne, Markenfield and Leonard Dacre, the men whose crafty brains and strong wills had organised and inspired the movement, were ever at hand to point out the dangers of submission. At the same time the Popish emissaries, by whom the two Earls were surrounded, employed their eloquence in glorifying the merit of resistance to a heretic and excommunicated Sovereign. The Holy Father himself pronounced the formal sanction of the Church, and assured them that "if in assisting the Catholic faith and the authority of the Holy See, death should happen to you, and your blood be poured out, it is much more honourable to obtain eternal life for the confession of God, and having a glorious death, than to live ignominiously, and to the detriment of your soul, in obedience to the caprice of a weak woman."¹

The Countess of Northumberland has been represented as enacting the part of a Lady Macbeth, and by counsel and example overcoming the scruples of her irresolute lord who, according to Lord Hunsdon, had "meant twyce or thryce to submit himselfe, but that his wyfe being the stouter of the two, doth hasten hym and yncorage hym to persever; and rydeth up and down with the army, *so as the grey mare is the better horse.*"²

¹ Pope Pius V. to the Earl of Northumberland. *Lansdowne MSS.* 1229. This letter (which is quoted in full in Sharpe's *Memorials of the Rebellion*) concludes with an exhortation to the Earl and his allies to emulate the example of Thomas à Becket, and with promises of material support from Rome. There is reason to believe, however, that it did not reach its destination until after the suppression of the rebellion.

² Lord Hunsdon to Cecil, Nov. 1569, *State Papers*. After diligent inquiry I have been unable to trace the origin of the concluding

Upon no better evidence than such gossip have grave historians attributed the Earl's ruin to the influence of his wife.¹ The old soldier subsequently repeated it as his opinion, that the rebellion had been "earnestlye followed by the two wyves, the Countessys." The charge is certainly established against Lady Westmoreland, who had moreover a personal interest in the success of the enterprise,² and who used persuasions, tears, prayers, and even curses, to cut off the hope of reconciliation between the two Earls and Elizabeth.³

There is, however, nothing on record to justify the assertion that Lady Northumberland used her ascendancy over her lord—the natural ascendancy of a strong mind and earnest purpose over an irresolute nature—to drive him into armed rebellion.

Her zealous attachment to the Catholic religion must, it is true, have enlisted her sympathy in the cause; but she was too sagacious a woman to have deluded herself with hopes in the result of an immature outbreak under inexperienced leaders; and her devotion to her husband—of which she gave so many touching proofs in after life—would hardly have allowed of her urging him to risk the ruin of himself and his house in a desperate conflict with the Crown of England.

adage to any older source than that quoted in Lord Macaulay's *History of England*, where the familiar proverb is ascribed to the notorious superiority of the grey mares of Flanders, which in the early part of Elizabeth's reign were largely imported into England, over our native draught horses.—See *Notes and Queries*, 6th series, vol. v. p. 96.

¹ Thus Mr. Froude says: "But for his wife, who never left his side, he would more than once have thrown himself upon Elizabeth's clemency."—*History of England*.

² Inasmuch as the failure of the rebellion could hardly fail to precipitate the fate of her brother, the then captive Duke of Norfolk.

³ Sir George Bowes in describing the meeting of the conspirators at Brancepeth on 15th November, states that when some of these deprecated armed resistance and threatened to withdraw "My Lady Westmoreland braste owt agaynst them with great curses" (*Memorials*); and Northumberland, who, in his so-called "Confession," endeavoured to exonerate

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In the charming old ballad beginning :

"Earle Percy is into his garden gone,
And after him walkes his faire ladie ;
I heare a Birde sing in mine eare,
That I must *either fight or flee*,"—¹

the Countess is represented as endeavouring to dissuade her Lord from his rebellious intentions, and we may assume that the course attributed to her was in accordance with the popular belief of the time.

There appears to be no doubt that to the last Northumberland, "letting I dare not wait upon I would," could not bring himself to resolve upon either submission or defiance.² As the story goes he retired to rest on the night of the 14th of November, worn out with conflicting doubts, but more than half resolved to retrace his steps on the morrow and to throw himself upon the mercy of his Sovereign. Before the dawn of day, however, his wife aroused him from his sleep with tidings of imminent danger: the castle was being surrounded by troops despatched by Sussex, with orders for his apprehension.

There was barely time to escape. Hastily arming himself he mounted his horse and, passing through the park by a bridle path with only a few followers, galloped to Brancepeth, where the Earl of Westmoreland

his colleague, declares that the insurgents had "never gote any howld of Westmoreland tyll the last hower, and that by the procurement of his [Westmoreland's] wyfe."

¹ *The Rising in the North, Percy Reliques*. By a curious coincidence [for he could not have seen the official document] the ballad writer uses the precise expression employed by Sussex in a letter addressed to the Queen on 15th November, 1569: "The Earls had no intention to rebel, but having been induced by evill counsel to enter dealings with some matters obnoxious to you, but, as they are persuaded, not perilous to themselves, they have been gradually drawn on, and now by fear they mean *either fight or fly*."—*State Papers*.

² "Ancipiti cura fluctuabat, an Reginam adiret, an fuga sibi consuleret, an in rebellium prorumperet."—Camden, *Annales*.

received him at the head of a large body of armed retainers.¹ A.D. 1569

A few hours later Sussex writes to the Queen:—
 “Those simple Earls are in open rebellion.”

* * *

Before proceeding further it may be well shortly to review the situation, and to consider the character of the disturbing influences at work, in the north of England.

The principal elements upon which the disaffected rested their cause were—

i. Religious enthusiasm in favour of the Church of Rome.

ii. Sympathy with the Scottish Queen and the hope of bringing about her recognition as heir to the English crown.

iii. The promised support and co-operation of the Duke of Norfolk and other powerful nobles throughout the kingdom, as well as of the Courts of Rome, Spain, and France.

These forces undoubtedly existed, but their weight and practical value, for the purpose of open resistance or aggression, had been greatly over-estimated.

i. From the first the conflict between Catholic and Protestant in England had never assumed the formidable character of a religious war. The Reformation had been a political and theological rather than a national movement, and its most dangerous opponents had not been Englishmen, but the subjects or agents of Rome and Spain. The intolerance of Mary, and the retaliatory severity of Elizabeth, had aroused a certain degree of

¹ The night alarm was by some writers described as a *ruse* on the part of Lady Northumberland to prevent the possibility of submission; but the danger was evidently real, for the Queen subsequently reproached Sussex with his failure in carrying out her command for the Earl's arrest at Topcliffe (see Haynes, p. 552). Drake in his *History of Yorkshire* says that “the Queen's messengers had nearly surprised Northumberland in his bed, when he escaped by a stratagem.”

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fanaticism; but this never rose to the height of such devotional fervour as had inspired and embittered the religious struggle in Germany, and more recently in Scotland. That a form of worship rooted in the traditions and habits of centuries, should at once give way to Acts of Parliament or penal laws could not have been contemplated; but it may safely be affirmed that under Henry VIII., and even during the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign, animosity to papal pretensions was a more powerful sentiment among the great mass of the English people, than attachment to the rites and doctrines of the ancient faith.

The equanimity with which, even within the Church,¹ the reformed religion was accepted, sufficiently indicates the absence, in the national mind, of any strong religious enthusiasm.

The grievances of the malcontents were of a practical rather than a sentimental character, and traceable less to the suppression of certain beliefs and ceremonials, than to a failure to substitute adequate provision for the spiritual wants of the people under the new system. Popish altars were overthrown; the celebration of mass was rendered a penal offence; non-compliant priests were imprisoned or banished, and the inmates of monastic houses driven forth by thousands; but the celebration of lawful church services was very scanty and precarious. The State confiscated, but the people starved. This was more especially the case in the north of England. In 1560 Pilkington, the first Protestant Bishop of Durham,²

¹ According to Camden not more than 200, out of a total of above 9,000 of the parochial priesthood in England, resigned their benefices for conscience' sake. It would appear to have been his longevity, rather than an exceptional degree of theological flexibility, which served to immortalise the Vicar of Bray.

² Surtees's *Durham*. Pilkington had, in 1560, succeeded Bishop Tunstall, who, though he had conformed under Henry, refused to take the oath of supremacy under Elizabeth, and was deprived accordingly.

deprecatèd "quarrelling for ordinances of mere form and circumstance in a dark and superstitious province, almost destitute of Protestant preachers;" and eight years later the Council of the North represent to the Queen that: "In many churches ther hath ben no sermons in many yeares past, and in moste parts or almost generally, the pastors be unhable to teach ther flock . . . the backwardnesse in cawses of religion in these parts procedeth rather from ignorance, or lack of convenient instructyng of the people, than of any stubbornes or willful disobedience. . . ."¹

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Indeed, the ordinances against the popish doctrines were not then enforced with much stringency, and the Catholics in the North would appear to have been little interfered with, unless guilty of open defiance of the law. Their churches were closed against the priesthood, but the great families continued to maintain their staff of friars, chaplains and confessors; service was performed in their houses, and even well-known popish emissaries were seldom molested in their work unless they obtruded themselves on official notice.

Thus we read:—

"Friar Black, who disputed against the Protestants in the abbey and was banished the country, is now with the old Lady Percy, where he said mass at Easter and ministered to as many as came. I desire no notice to Sir Henry Percy; but that his mother might have warning to take heed to her maids, for that friar is sycker knave."²

Although, then, the accession of Elizabeth had been a great blow to the Catholic party, whose smouldering discontent "lay like lees at the bottom of men's hearts and

¹ *State Papers*, Add^a (1566-79), p. 64, No. 42, i.

² Randolph to Cecil, 3rd June, 1563. *Origl. State Papers, Scotland*, Record Office. The lady referred to is the widow of the attainted Sir Thomas Percy, who died in 1567.

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if the vessel were ever so little stirred came to the top ; " and, in the north of England, the great majority of the population remained attached to the ancient form of worship and was ready to make great sacrifices in its defence, yet the feeling throughout England in favour of the Church of Rome would not appear to have been either so widely prevalent, or so intense, as to justify the hope of its forming the base of a successful resistance to constituted authority.

ii. In proclaiming Mary Stuart as heir presumptive to the English throne, the Catholics put forward a candidate whose legal right on the score of blood-relationship it was impossible to question. Yet no act could have been more calculated to arouse the jealousy and anger of Elizabeth, who already displayed that morbid aversion to recognise a successor which became so marked a weakness in her strong character later in life ; while the Scottish Queen's ostentatious attachment to the Roman Church could not fail to alarm the Protestant party. But putting aside these considerations, Northumberland and his allies would appear to have exaggerated the influence of Mary's name in England.²

In later days, when distance had lent its enchantment to the story of the Queen of Scots, when poetry and romance had clothed her in their rosiest tints, the contemplation of her persecution and suffering, of weary years of captivity and a shameful death bravely borne, aroused universal pity and sympathy on her behalf. At the time of which we are now treating, however, she

¹ Bacon.

² The absence at this time of anything approaching to enthusiasm in Mary's cause, is evidenced by the report of Richard Lowther to Cecil, where it is stated that although he had "warned the country by beacon" (of her arrival at Carlisle), "the gentlemen and sheriffs of Cumberland and Westmoreland had been very remiss in their duty to wait upon Her Majesty"; and this in the very stronghold of English Catholicism!

had not attained the honour of martyrdom. To the masses south of the Tweed, little was probably known of Mary Stuart, beyond the fact that she was nearest of kin to their sovereign, a papist by religion, an alien by birth and habits, and a fugitive from her kingdom. Rumours may have reached them of her personal charms, her strange adventures; of the mysterious death of Darnley, and the wild Bothwell's rough wooing. Such tales, however, were hardly calculated to enlist the sympathy of the sober English, still less to incite them to take up arms in her cause against their own Queen.

iii. There is no doubt but that the two northern Earls had been encouraged by promises of active support from many influential quarters. Although Northumberland had been opposed to the project of Mary's alliance with Norfolk, because of his religion,¹ Westmoreland felt in honour bound to stand by his brother-in-law, who had declared his readiness to risk liberty, life, and estate in the cause of Mary Stuart.²

¹ In his "Confession" (see footnote, p. 44), the Earl of Northumberland states that he had warned the Queen of Scots against marrying a Protestant, and represented to her that "if she ever looked to recover her estate it must be by the advancing and mayntayning of the Catholicke fayth; for there ought to be no hauling in those matters; and if the Duke [of Norfolk] were a sound Catholick I would as much rejoyce, and be as glad of that match, as any other."—*Memorials of the Rebellion*, p. 192.

² Fénelon, in a despatch dated September 5th, 1570, reports a conversation with the Duke of Norfolk, and quotes his words with reference to the Scottish queen: "pour la restitution de laquelle il veult mettre sa personne, sa vie et ses biens."—*Recueil des Dépêches*. Norfolk, however, wiser than the Earls, foresaw the result of an immature rising, and according to Francis Norton, had urged Westmoreland not to take up arms, even although the Earl of Northumberland should do so; for that he felt sure that the first act of rebellion would be the signal for his execution.

This is confirmed by the evidence of Captain Shirley, a spy employed by Cecil, who states that the Earl of Westmoreland had confided to him, that "if this Dewke had not sent that message [to Lord Westmoreland] they had done well enowghe, but he had shewed himself feynthe indee; . . . he was the undoinge of them, for by that message and crede of that day, their frendes fell from them and gave them over."—*Original State Papers*.

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The Earls of Derby, Arundel, Cumberland, Pembroke, Southampton, and others, were not only notoriously favourable to the Catholics, but had, if the French and Spanish ambassadors are to be believed, expressed their determination to support any movement calculated to promote their interests. That these nobles had been in secret correspondence with the conspirators is evident; but however ready they may have been to profit by the turn of events, it is far from clear that they had at any time pledged themselves to join in armed opposition to the State. Even if they had gone to these lengths, however, concerted action must have been a condition of whatever understanding there had existed between them, and they were undoubtedly within their right in dissociating themselves from the rash outbreak of their allies in the North.¹ *That*, in their conduct, which it is not possible to justify, is the complacency with which they at first watched the struggle as ready to side with the rebels, if successful, as to repudiate and desert them if they failed; and their subsequent duplicity in solemnly disclaiming all participation in the aims and objects of their fallen allies.

The foreign aid promised to the cause proved equally fallacious. The support of Rome was moral rather than material from the first. Anathema was its weapon, and the papal benison the reward of service. Spain had made ample promises, and, during the early part of the rising, Alva had despatched a special messenger to encourage the Earls in their action, and to hold out hopes of succour in men and money; but as the tide turned he

¹ On being informed of the contemplated rising the Spanish ambassador in London advised the Earls "to put no matter in execution," but to escape to a place of safety, for which purpose he offered them passports to the Low Countries. See Oswald Wilkinson's Deposition, Murdin, p. 225.

lent a deaf ear to their appeals.¹ Fénelon admits that he had played with the insurgent chiefs, and that when Northumberland represented that his funds were nearly exhausted, and prayed for an advance of money, he had put him off with fair promises, though he thought that it might be as well if the King would keep him in good humour by a small remittance.²

The result of the rebellion might have been very different, however, but for the incapacity of the leaders and the prompt and resolute action of Elizabeth,³ for the influence of the Earls within the range of their territorial jurisdiction was still very great, and they had a large body of zealous and active allies in the dispersed members of monastic houses, who, homeless and destitute, brooding over their wrongs, and dreaming of a restored Church, were busily fomenting discontent and agitation among an ignorant, credulous and warlike population. The sons of the men who had suffered and died for participation in the Pilgrimage of Grace, nay, some of the actors in those scenes themselves, were on the spot, ready, at the command of their chiefs, once more to unfurl the banner which a quarter of a century before had been borne by Aske and Norton, Percy and Dacre; while success would have ensured the adherence of other powerful and influential nobles, already, for different reasons, unfriendly to Elizabeth. Under able and vigorous commanders, such forces, backed by the avowed sympathy and the secret aid of foreign States, might, although inadequate in the

¹ Refusing even to become security for a proposed loan of 8,000 crowns. "Alva se monstre assés froid sur tout le reste du secours promis."—Fénelon to the King, 27th December, 1569, *Recueil des Dépêches*.

² *Ibid.*

³ Speed thus characterises the Queen's promptitude: "The nest was broken before the birds could flie."

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end to withstand the military power of the empire, have resulted in a compromise, under which some of the concessions demanded would doubtless have been granted. But of the many qualities required for the exercise of efficient control and command over undisciplined masses, the two Earls, whom the accident of birth, rather than merit or ambition, had forced to the front, possessed only that instinct of personal courage inherent in the blood of the Percies and Nevilles. Up to the hour of actual rebellion, they had wavered feebly between conflicting doubts and now, that induced to overcome their scruples they had drawn the sword, they stood appalled at the thought of treason and the horrors of civil war. Still proclaiming their loyalty while heading armed insurgents, and in the name of the Queen levying forces to subvert her authority : rash in the face of danger, but irresolute to seize advantages, their inconsistency and want of purpose soon disheartened their followers, alienated their allies, and finally gave their enemies an easy triumph.

* * *

When on the 14th November the two Earls summoned a council of their principal supporters for the purpose of deciding upon their course of action, the complete divergence of their views and objects became at once apparent. Leonard Dacre,¹ Markynfield, Richard Norton² and Swinbourne were in favour of an immediate attack

¹ The uncle of the last Lord Dacre of Gillesland, with whom the title became extinct.

² Richard Norton of Norton Conyers, the patriarch of the rebellion.—

“ But come thou hither, my little foot page,
Come thou hither unto mee ;
To maister Norton thou must goe
In all the haste that ever may bee ;
Commend me to that gentlemàn,
And beere this letter here fro mee ;
And say that earnestlie I praye,
He will ryde in my companie.

upon the Queen's forces, but this was opposed by Northumberland,¹ who advocated a dash with a body of horse upon Tutbury for the liberation of the Scottish Queen, a project which was then feasible, and might have been attended with important results.² For some unexplained reason, however, it was overruled, while to a counter proposition to commence operations by proclaiming the Roman faith, Westmoreland demurred, because "those that took the pretext of religion in other countries are accounted as rebels, and therefore I will never blot my house, which thus long hath been preserved without stayning."

The defenceless state of York invited attack, and the capture of Sussex with the small force under his command, would then have been practicable; "but

Then rose the reverend gentleman,
And with him came a goodlye band
To join with the brave Earl Percy,
And all the flower o' Northumberland."—

The Rising in the North, Percy Reliques.

Richard Norton was not—as the ballad has it—executed, but made his escape to the Continent, where he died in penury some years later. His eldest son, subject to a heavy fine, recovered some of the property, on the ground, it is said, that he had only joined the rebels unarmed for the protection of his old father. Two, if not three, of the younger sons died on the scaffold, and the others were attainted and fled.

¹ "Most thought that we should go to arms, save the Earl of Northumberland, who however agreed to do as the most would."—Francis Norton to the Earl of Leicester and Lord Burghley, 2nd April, 1572.—*State Papers*, Add^d. (1566-79), p. 390.

² Hunsdon had warned Cecil of this scheme. "Their meaning is to take the Scottish Queene and therfor, for God's sake, let her not remain where she is, for their greatest force is horsemen."—*Border MSS.* In a letter to Cecil of 21st November (*State Papers*), Lord Shrewsbury, still in fear of the project being carried out, urges the removal of the Queen, "as the Castel is very weke and not able to resist and the enemy is within 54 miles."

Chalmers, in his *History of Scotland*, states that the Countess of Northumberland had previously made an attempt to gain access to Mary at Wentworth in the disguise of a nurse, hoping to be able to change clothes with her, and thus effect her escape. She is said to have borne personal resemblance to the Scottish Queen.

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reflecting that the thing might cause bloodshed they passed it over.”¹ The more daring and reckless spirits, seeing the hopelessness of vigorous action and despairing of success under such leaders, determined to disperse, “every man to provide for himself,” and, despite the tears and reproaches of the Countess of Westmoreland, they departed—Dacre repairing straight to London, where, divulging the conspiracy, he prayed the Queen for a command against the rebels, and others to their houses or beyond seas. Northumberland was now once more disposed to submit, but on the representation that if he deserted them his allies would be sacrificed, he consented to go to Alnwick and there collect forces against future contingencies. The remaining rebels objected to his leaving them; but he represented that it would not become him “to go under my Lord Westmoreland’s standard without any force of mine owne, saving eight servants which I had with me,” and on the following morning started for his castle, Lord Westmoreland escorting him on his way for a mile or two.

After he had bid him farewell he was overtaken by the Nortons and several others, who urged him to return. His infirmity of purpose is best described in his own words:—

“Walking up and downe there, till the sun was sett, riding nether one way or other, notwithstanding their great perswasions; they seeing I could not be brought unto it, one of my said Lord’s servants, named Wightman, came hard behinde me, and said I shoulde not choose but goe. ‘Then,’ quoth I, ‘if it be so, have with you!’ My servants shewed unto me afterwards, if I had not

¹ From Northumberland’s “Confession,” or, more properly, his replies to a series of interrogatories, for the full text of which see *Calendar of State Papers*; also Sharpe’s *Memorials of the Rebellion in the North*, and the two volumes of *Burleigh State Papers*, respectively edited by Murdin and Haynes. A summary of the Earl’s evidence will be found in the Appendix, III.

turned back at the first time, some of the others meant me a displeasure." A.D. 1569

Returning to Brancepeth the two Earls, at the head of 500 horse, marched to Durham, expelled the heretic bishop, had high mass celebrated in the cathedral, and inaugurated the new order of things by a bonfire of Protestant Bibles and prayer books.¹ A messenger from Sussex found them thus employed. To his final appeal to their good sense and loyalty, Northumberland returned for answer that further persuasion was useless, and that "they must now seek all the ways they could to serve their turn . . . for seeing their lives in danger they were determined to lose them in the field."²

* * *

Once committed to open defiance of authority, the Earls set to work to justify their action, and to bid for popular support and co-operation by means of a series of proclamations. The first of these, dated 15th November,³ makes no mention of the Scottish Queen,⁴ but deals exclusively with the religious questions; but another, issued two days later at Richmond or Darlington, enters more fully into the subject of their grievances. This *ad captandum vulgus* appeal, which Bowes describes as "the most effective they did," and the authorship of which is attributed to Marmaduke Blackston, a pamphleteer of some

¹ "Ubi sacra Biblia, et Liturgiæ libros lingua Anglica, in ecclesiis repertos dilacerant et proculcant."—Camden, *Annales*, vol. i. p. 194.

² *State Papers*, Add^a. (1566-79), p. 107.

³ See Appendix IV.

⁴ Camden refers to this omission, which he attributes to the influence over Lord Westmoreland of the Duke of Norfolk, who, being in the Queen's power, was sensitively apprehensive of any action on the part of his allies and supporters that might appear to connect him with their cause. At this time Norfolk was already trimming his sails, for on 12th December he had written to Elizabeth that—"Now that I see how unpleasant this matter of the Queene of Scotts ys unto your Majestie I never intende to dele further therin," and expresses his readiness to marry such other "fytte person" as "may best content your Hynesse."—Haynes, p. 571.

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reputation,¹ deserves to be quoted as showing the first pretexts for the rising :—

“Thomas, Earl of Northumberland, and Charles, Earl of Westmoreland, the Queen's most true and lawful subjects, and to all her Highness people sendeth greeting. Whereas, divers newe sette upp nobbles about the Quene's Majestie, have and doe dailie not onlie goe about to overthrow and put down the ancient nobilitie of this reelme, but also have misused the Queene's Majesties personne, and alsoe have by the space of twelve years now past, sett upp and mayntayned a newe found religion and heresie, contrarie to God's worde ; for the amending and redressing whereof divers foren powers doo purpose shortlie to invade thes realmes, which will be our utter destruction if we do not ourselves speedilie forfend the same. Wherefore we are now constreyned at this tyme to go aboute to amende and redresse it ourselves, which if we shold not do and forerenners enter upon us, we sholde be all made slaves and bondsmen to them. These are therefore to will and require you, and euery of you, being above the age of sixteen yeares, and not sixty, as your dutie towards God doth bynde you for the setting forthe of his trewe and catholick religion, and as you value the commonwealth of your contrie, to come and ressort unto us with all speede, with all such armour and furnytüre as you, or any of you, have. This faile you not herein, as you will answeere the contrarye at your perills.

“GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.”²

Elizabeth, now alive to the uselessness of further negotiation, determined to strike a powerful blow before the rising should assume more formidable dimensions. The Earl of Warwick, and Lord Clinton and Saye, the

¹ “One Marmaduke Blackston was a principall wrytor of things.”—*Deposition of Hamelyng, Haynes, p. 594.*

² *Harl. MSS. No. 6,990, fol. 44.*

High Admiral, were each required to levy a force of 4,000 men for service in the north ; ships were sent to the coast, at once to intercept reinforcements from abroad, and to cut off the retreat of the insurgents, and Commissioners were despatched to Scotland, to induce the Regent to bring a powerful army to the frontier in aid of the royal forces in the north. Nor was the use of political weapons neglected. Sussex was ordered to circulate counter-proclamations, and, above all things, to expose the "pretext of religion" on the part of the Earls.¹ He accordingly in the Queen's name proclaimed them as traitors² "who had never had care of conscience or respected any religion, but continued a dissolute life³ till they were driven to pretend a popish holiness to put false colour upon their manifold treasons."⁴ At the same time political writers and even ballad singers⁵ were subsidised to blacken the characters and discredit the pretensions of the rebel leaders. Sir Thomas Smith in a vituperative pamphlet,⁶ says:—

¹ Elizabeth to Sussex, 15th November, 1569, Haynes, p. 553.

² Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. i. part ii. p. 319 (*Edition* 1824). In this proclamation a general pardon was promised to all (the leaders excepted) who should at once return to their homes and give in their submission.

³ This charge could only have applied to Lord Westmoreland, who, says Speed, was "a person utterly wasted by looseness of life." The private life of Northumberland, on the other hand, was irreproachable.

⁴ The Earls replied to this manifesto by their "Protestacion," in which, with reference to Mary Stuart, they claimed it as their lawful duty "with diverse others of the auncient nobilitie," among whom they named the Duke of Norfolk and the Earls of Pembroke and Arundel, "to determyne to whom, of meere right, the true succession of this Crown apperteyneth."—See Appendix V.

⁵ The following entry from a churchwarden's account, dated in January 1570, is quoted in the *British Magazine* for April 1863, p. 417: "Item for vij Bally's [Ballads] consarning the Rebells to be sounge, ij^d."

⁶ Preserved in the British Museum. Strype speaks of this composition as "a Sermon, in Six Parts, against Wilful Rebellion," written by order of the Archbishop of Canterbury.—(See *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. i. part ii. p. 322.) It was probably the joint production of clerics and laymen.

Among the *Reprints of Rare Tracts* published by Richardson of Newcastle (Biographical, vol. ii.), there is a copy of a Black Letter Metrical Tract, entitled, "An Answer to the Proclamation of the Rebells of the North, 1569."

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“ He that considereth the persons, states and conditions of the rebels themselves, the reformers as they take upon them of the present government, he will find them the most rash and harebrained men, the greatest spend-thrifts ; that they lewdly wasted their owne goodes and landes to be over head and ears in debt. Are not these mete men, trow you, to restore the common-wealth, who have so spoilt and consumed all their own wealth and thrift ? and very like to mend other men's manners, who have so vile and vicious and abominable condicion themselves ? ”

Another of Elizabeth's agents, Thomas Norton, barrister, addressed an appeal “ to the Queenes poore deceived subjectes ”¹ in which this passage occurs :

“ The name of Percies and Nevilles have long been honourable and well beloved among you. Some of you and your forefathers have bene advanced by them and their ancestors ; some perhaps be knit in kinred, some be tenauntes, some be servauntes, some be, with like reason, with like causes, allied and bound to the meaner Captaines. Great things be these to move love and good neighbourhed, and of great importaunce and efficacy to drawe honest true and kinde-harted men, to sticke by their lordes and frendes in all warres against the prince's enemies. and in all honest quarrels and perilles. Yet small matters they be, yea no causes at all, to drawe any man to stande with any man in rebellions and treasons. Is Percy more ancient, more beloved and dearer unto you than your naturall Sovereigne Ladie, the Queene of England ? . . . Trow you this match be well made ? A corner against a reelme ; a handful against hundreds of thousands ; want against plentie, follie against policie, wickedness against truth, one or two doltish heads against the old nobilitie.

¹ A curious old pamphlet in 12° black letter : “ Imprinted at London. by Henrie Bynneman, for Lucas Harrison, A.D. 1569.”—*British Museum*.

a few rebels against all subjects !” The writer concludes by warning the people against “those good men, your Erle of Westmoreland and the other, in whom no lewdnesse lacked but rebellion, which they have now added to make up their heepe of iniquity.”

On 24th November the Queen issued her “Declaration setting forth the treasons of the Earls” in which she takes care to expose their want of pecuniary means :—

“But as to the reformation of any great matters, they were as ill chosen two persons, if their qualities were considered to have credit, as could be in the whole realm. For they were both in poverty ; one having but a very small portion of that which his ancestors had left,¹ and the other having wasted almost the whole of his patrimony.”² Three days later the degradation of Northumberland from his order of the Garter³ was proclaimed in these terms :

“Elizabeth R.

27 die Nov^r. 1569.

“Be it knowne to all men that, whereas Thomas Earle of Northumberland, Knight Companion of the Moste Noble Order of the Garter, hathe not onely commytted and done high treasons againste the Queene’s most excellent Majestie, Sovereigne of the sayd most noble Order of the Garter, compassynge and imagininge moste traiterouslie and most rebellyously in manner of warr, not onely in his owne person, agaynste our moste dread Sovereign Lady the Queene, but also hathe procured a greate multytude of others, moste trayterously and rebellyously to follow him in his moste traytorouse purpose, intendinge therbye, if he myght, to subverte the whole

¹ From which it is clear that of the lands which the sixth Earl of Northumberland had vested in the crown in trust for his future successor, only a small portion had been given back on the restoration of the Earldom. ² Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, vol. i., part ii., p. 316.

³ In a window in the old chapel at Petworth there may yet be seen the Earl’s arms empaled with those of his wife, surrounded by the Garter and the names Percy and Worcester.

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good order and commonwealth of this Realme; for the which detestible offence and High Treason the sayd Thomas hathe deserved to be disgraded of the same most noble order and expelled out of the same companye, and not worthie that his armes, ensignes or hatchments should remayne amongst virtuous and approved knights of the said moste noble order. WHEREFORE our most Rightyous Queene, Supreme and Soueraigne of this moste noble order, with the companyons now present at the same, Wyll and Comaund that the armes, ensignes and hatchments of the said Thomas be taken awaye, and thrown downe and he to be putt clean from his order, and from henceforth to be non of the number thereof; that all others, by his example, maye ever more hereafter beware how thay comytte or doe lyke crime, or fall in like shame.

“God Save the Queene.”¹

The order was promptly carried into effect.

“On the Saturdaye after (the date of the proclamation), being the 27th daye of November, Thomas Earle of Northumberland was disgraded of his knighthood of the Garter which was done in this manner:

“Firste, Chester Herrold of Armes, with the Queene’s Coat of armes on his backe, came to the backside of the Stalls of the same Earle and, with a ladder being sett up agaynste his hatchments, ascended to the toppe of the ladder. Then Garter and Clarentyeulxe, ii Kinges of armes, Richemond, Rouge Dragon, and Rouge Crosse. Pursoyants of armes, came out of the Cloyster, havinge the Queene’s Coate of armes on their Backe’s, (Waye being made by the Knighte Marshall and his men) directly agaynste the Stalle of the said Earle, and Chester being on the other side, came upon the ladder and strode by the hatchements. Then Rouge Crosse

¹ *Cott. MSS. Vesp. C. xiv. 583.*

made with a loud voyce the Queene's proclamatyon of the Earles degradinge which was under Her Matie's hand ; (the cobby hereafter followeth) this beinge reade over againste the stakes, Chester did hurle downe with violence the Earles banner of armes to the ground ; then his sworde and after his creste and disappor (?) and after his helme and mantle, and after beinge all throwne downe they were with lyke violence spurned from that place out of the windowe of the same chappell of Windsore by Garter King of armes aforesaid ; and after he had spurned, fyrste the Bannér of armes, then the sward, then the helmete and mantles, and laste the creste and dissoper, which creste and dissoper was not only spurned out of the weste door of the same chappell, but cleane out of the ottermoste gates of the castle." ^{A.D. 1569}

Neither the royal resentment nor the ridicule and invective showered upon the two rebellious earls by Cecil's hired scribes had much effect upon the sturdy men of the north. The policy of the Tudors had broken the feudal power, but had not yet succeeded in destroying the personal attachment existing between lord and vassal. No sooner had Northumberland and Westmoreland set up their standards in Durham, than men of all classes, from nobles and knights, accompanied by their tenants, mounted and equipped for war, down to unarmed labourers, bringing only their stout hearts and goodwill, rallied around their natural chiefs,² want of allegiance to

¹ *Harl. MSS.* No. 304 (48), Fol. 84^b. Fénelon, in one of his despatches, describes this scene, and relates how "les Armoyries du Comte ont été dégradées et ostées publiquement, et mis as bas avec ignominie, follées aux pieds, et puy jectées aux fossez."—*Recueil des Dépêches*.

² The Earls seem to have exercised their authority in right royal fashion, as witness this passport, the original of which is preserved in the *Cotton MSS.* (Calig. B. ix. 405). "To all and every the servants, tenants and adherents of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland their fryndes confeyderates and allies :

"Theis shall be to will and command you to permytte and suffer this berer Jelberd Havers to passe and repasse from place to place where his

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whom in the hour of danger they would have scouted as the worst of disloyalty.¹

The imagination of the poet thus depicts the opening scene in the Rebel camp :

“ ‘ Rise, noble Earls—put forth your might,
In Holy Church and people’s right ! ’
The Norton fixed at this demand
His eye upon Northumberland,
And said : ‘ the minds of men will own
No royal rest while England’s throne
Is left without an heir. . . .
Brave Earls, to whose heroic veins
Our noblest blood is given in trust,
To you a suffering State complains,
And ye must raise us from the dust.
With wishes of still bolder scope,
On you we look with deepest hope,
Even for the altar, for the prize
In heaven,—of life that never dies.
For th’ old and Holy Church we mourn,
And must in joy to her return.’ ”

The banner which he had borne in the Pilgrimage of Grace being then unfurled by Francis Norton :

“ ‘ Uplift it ! ’ cried once more the band,
And then a thoughtful pause ensued.
‘ Uplift it ! ’ cried Northumberland ;
Whereat from all the multitude
Who saw the banner raised on high
In all its dread emblazonry,
A voice of utmost joy broke forth. . . .

Now was the North in arms ; they shine
In warlike trim from Tweed to Tyne
At Percy’s voice ! ”

busynesse lyeth, without lett or trouble of you or any of you, as you will answer to the contrarye at your perill.—From Durham, 15th December, 1569. NORTHUMBERLAND. C. WESTMORELAND.”

¹ The strength of this attachment, even at a time when the rank and file of the insurgents were being hanged by hundreds for their loyalty to the chiefs who had abandoned them, is testified by all their adversaries. Thus Sir Robert Bowes informs Sadler that “ The olde good wyll of the people is deepe grafted in their heartes to their nobles and gentlemen of this country, which fled ” (*Memorials*, page 179) ; and Lord Hunsdon states that after the flight of their leaders the Northumbrian men remained loyal to the cause, and that they would “ recognise no Prince but a Percy.”—Letter to Cecil, 31st December, 1569. *State Papers*.

The attitude of "the North in arms" was less favourably represented by the prosaic testimony of Elizabeth's agents. Bowes estimates the number of the insurgents shortly after the outbreak at not more than one thousand, of whom the greater part are "footmen unarmed and undrilled" and constantly deserting for want of money,¹ and Sussex describes them as "pore rascalls that come slowly on the one day, and go away apace willingly the other."² He was fully alive however to the danger which example and impunity might beget in kindling the religious zeal of the people into such a flame of fanaticism as would spread over the country and penetrate even to his own ranks.

As early as on the 15th November he had reported to the Queen that "the Earls will make religion their ground, and I am not sure how many will in that case go against me in my own force; but I have great cause to doubt much of them; whereas if they escape there is great feare of their enlisting foreign aid. It is for your Majesty to consider whether it would not be better policy to pardon them. *All the wisest Protestants think you should offer mercy before you draw the sword.*"³

And again on the same day to Cecil: "He is a rare bird that has not some of his with the two Earls, or, in his heart, wishes not well to their cause; and I heartily wish that her Majesty would quench all this fire at the beginning by pardon or force. The Earles are old in bloode and poore in force, in any other cause but this."⁴ In the report of the Council of 16th November it is stated: "The people like so well of their cause of religion that they do flock to them (the Earls) in all places where they come, and many gentlemen show themselves readie to serve your Majestie, whose sons and heirs, or other sons, be on the other side."

¹ *Memorials.*² *State Papers.*³ *Ibid.*⁴ *Ibid.*

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On the 17th November, Bowes writes to Sussex :—
“ The matter groweth very hott, and sure in my opinion requireth to be expedited ; as what with feare, fine speeche, or moneye, they drawe awaye the harts of the people.” He adds that the Earls use her Majesty’s name in their proclamations and that Northumberland “ beareth a guydon before his troope.” A week later Bowes writes to Sussex : “ Daylie the people flee from these partes to the Earles, and I knowe not what should be done to staye them ; for I have notyfied their unloyall and rebellious dealings, and with fayre speech and bestowal of money used them that came in the most gentle manner I could ; but it avayleth nothing, for they still start after them.”

Sir John Forster says : “ My Lord of Northumberland hath in this country (Northumberland) lands of the yearly rent of one thousand pounds, whereon he hath many tenents, as many of them gyven to the evill as to the goode ; so as when they understand that such as beare either dewty or trew service to her Majesty ys the better parteye, they comme, and wyll be obedyent ; but yf their master should retourne and enter with the evill countries of England and Scotland, they are not to be trusted. The common people in this sudden hurl are dangerous to trust.”¹

This is fully confirmed by Sir Ralph Sadler : “ We cannot trust the papists, for if the father comes to us with ten men, his son goes to the rebels with twenty ” ;² and

¹ Forster to Cecil, 24th Nov. 1569, *State Papers*. A sturdy Northumbrian soldier with a keen eye to his own interests. He could claim forty years of good service in border war, when he was appointed Warden of the Middle Marches. According to an ancient ballad :

“ Sir John was gentle, meik and douse,
But he was hail and hott as fyre.”

² Sadler to Cecil, 6th Dec., 1569, *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii., p. 55.

again: "There be not in all this countrey x gentilmen that do favor and allowe of Her Majesties proceedings in the cause of religion; and the common people be altogether blynded with tholde popish doctryne."

No reliance can be placed on the various and contradictory reports, by Elizabeth's local agents, of the numbers of the insurgent forces. Gargrave, the sheriff of York, puts them at 20,000, "for all the inhabitants of the Byshopryche of Richmondshyre, a few only excepted, are rebels;"¹ but he can hardly have meant to convey that anything approaching those numbers were at any one time under arms. Lord Hunsdon's² estimate is probably the most accurate. At the height of the rebellion he quotes the footmen, of whom "the greater part are artificers and the meaner sort of husbandmen," at less than 4,000, and the Light Horse, "mostly gentlemen and their dependents," at 1,700. The superiority both in numbers and equipment of the horsemen was universally admitted. Sir Francis Leeke informs the Privy Council that they were "better furnished than I have ever seen, for besydes their staves, there was few of them without a case of pistolets."³ Fénelon in one of the reports to his Court describes them as "*en aussi bon equipage qu'il s'en peult trouver en Angleterre*," and Sussex more than once expresses his inability to take the field against so formidable a body as the Rebel Horse. Of the footmen a large proportion were untrained and unarmed men,

¹ See Lord Huntingdon's *Report on the Northern Rebellion*, September 1573, in the Appendix to the *Memorials*.

² Henry Carey, Baron Hunsdon, who played a prominent part in the suppression of the rebellion, was a son of Anne Boleyn's sister, therefore first cousin to the Queen. He was a brave soldier, whose honourable and straightforward character forms a pleasing contrast to that of too many of Elizabeth's agents. "Far from the practice of my Lord of Leicester's instructions," says a contemporary, "he was downright; a fast man to his Prince, and firm to his friends, and as he lived in a ruffling time so he loved sword and buckler men."—*Fragments Regalia*, by Sir Thomas Naunton.

³ *State Papers*.

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entirely dependent upon their employers for the means of daily subsistence. Their zeal might reconcile them to fighting without pay, but the supply of food was an indispensable condition of continuous and effective service, and this the Earls were unable to provide. Westmoreland had long been a very needy man, and so poor at this time was Northumberland that his stables contained "scarcely sufficient horses for his family."¹ He himself states that his collar of the Garter had been "laid in gage for £60," that he had pledged a part of his plate before the outbreak, and that when he took the field he had only £120 in his possession.² On the other hand the northern garrisons had, owing to Elizabeth's accustomed parsimony, been allowed to dwindle to less than one-third of their nominal strength. The entire available force under Sussex on the outbreak of the rebellion did not exceed 2,000 foot and 500 horse, who were in arrears of pay, and short of ammunition and pikes;³ nor was their loyalty to be relied upon, for he expresses a fear that they would "fyght but faintly," while the population is described as being "hollowe-harted and unwilling to bring victuals to the camp." He was thus condemned to inactivity, which at such a time could not fail to afford encouragement to the insurgents.

¹ Thomas Gargrave to Cecil, November 1569; *State Papers*. In his pamphlet (See *ante*, p. 47) Sir Thomas Smith says that Northumberland then possessed "only a small portion of that which his ancestors sometimes had and lost, and that his daily sales and shiftes for necessitie, even then when he had less charge than to maintain an army, both in Sussex and elsewhere, we all know."

² See his "Confession." Christopher Norton states that the Earls had given him £20 to distribute among the foot soldiers assembled at Ripon, but as these were above 1000 in number, and as he thought it was not possible to give each man less than one shilling, he had demanded additional funds; "but they said they had no more."—*State Papers*, 1566-79. Addⁿ. xviii. 35.

³ Sussex to Cecil, 26th November, 1569, *State Papers*.

With increasing numbers, however, the Earls felt only more severely the strain upon their narrow resources, and they now turned anxiously to their allies for the material support which had been promised them. In the common cause to which princes and nobles, churchmen and soldiers, had pledged themselves, *they* alone had hitherto borne the brunt of battle. The time had now come, they declared, when all true friends of the ancient faith, when all who wished to see the succession to the English throne assured in the person of the legitimate heir to the crown, should avow themselves. But Elizabeth's watchful eye seems to have paralysed the malcontents, who, as Northumberland complained, answered his appeal "with such coldness as disliked him." For the two leaders, however, there was now no alternative but action. They were hurried on by a power stronger than themselves, and, nominally the leaders of the rebellion, now found themselves unable to stem, or even to direct the violence of its course. The conduct of the ensuing campaign, if a series of desultory marches and purposeless manœuvres,¹ can be dignified by the term, does not admit of explanation upon any principle of the art of war. Within a few days after the foolish demonstration at Durham, the insurgent force had swelled into a body of over 2,000 foot and 1,200 horse, with which the Earls advanced southward halting at Darlington, where they "lewdly heard mass and besprinkled the soldiers with holy water";² and thence to Richmond, Northallerton, and Ripon, meeting with no opposition, and steadily increasing their numbers, till on reaching Clifford Moor, near Wetherby,³ on the 23rd of November, the force

¹ "They know not what to enterprize by their straggling in this sorte."
—Cecil to Bowes. *Memorials*. ² Holinshead.

³ On 17th November the Council of York report to Cecil that the insurgents were at Richmond, "where the Earl of Northumberland is the Queen's officer (steward) and the Countess his wyfe is gone thither

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amounted to 6,000 men. Here it was that a messenger from the Queen of Scots brought Northumberland "a rynge of gold enamel, requyryng hym to remember his promise."¹

They had succeeded in dispersing the levies in course of formation for the Queen's service, had captured a body of 300 horse at Tadcaster, and cut off communication with York, where Sussex lay with a garrison not exceeding 2,000 men, "whereof not past 300 horsemen." A vigorous assault would have placed him and the city at their mercy, but at the eleventh hour, to his great relief, they suddenly fell back upon Durham,² and proceeded formally to lay siege to Barnard Castle, in which their old antagonist, Sir George Bowes, had taken refuge.³ Sussex was anxious to send him reinforcements, and, if possible, to raise the siege, but found himself too weak to spare any of his troops for this purpose. After a prolonged and gallant resistance, the place fell,⁴ owing to the treachery of a great part

to them." On the next day they are reported to be at Ripon.—*State Papers*.

¹ Deposition of W. Hamelyng, Haynes, p. 594.

² "The rebells are returned into the Bishoprycke. . . . The Earl of Northumberland thinketh to have all, or most part of, Northumberland at his devocion, for which he hath used greete practice."—Sadler to Cecil, 30th November, 1569. *Memorials*, p. 83.

³ "Dowting what might happen to myself and whom they greatly menace, I have put myself and my household only in Barnard Castle."—Sir George Bowes to Sussex, 12th November, 1569. *Ibid*.

⁴ "They every daye come to offer schrymishinge, and beareth in our Scoutes and Screwagers, but we take no alarom but keepeth close."—Bowes to Cecil, 29th November. *Ibid*. The refusal of Bowes to quit his vantage-ground in answer to challenges to single combat or to "skrymaging," gave rise to these lines in an old ballad still known in the North:—

"Coward, a coward of Barney Castell
Dare not come out to fight the battell."

—*Ibid*.

Bowes ultimately obtained honourable terms of capitulation, and marched out with 300 horse.

of the garrison, who, dropping over the walls by the score, deserted to the enemy. Its capture was of no strategical importance however; and the time wasted in the siege had enabled Sussex to place York in a state of defence, and to treble his own force,¹ while Warwick and the High Admiral had advanced unopposed with an army of 7,000 men to Wetherby. The Earls had now been under arms for five weeks, and the only material advantage they had gained was in the seizure and occupation of Hartlepool; which Cecil apprehended "will brede some longer trouble,"² as that place might serve them as a convenient port for receiving reinforcements or supplies from the Continent, or, these failing, for facilitating their own escape across the sea. The rebellion was, however, crushed before they could turn their acquisition to any profitable account.

On the 20th of November Sussex writes to Cecil:—"Although at the beginning of these matters the people were so affected to the Earls for the sense they had in hand that what was had for the Queen's service was got out of the flint, and those that came, save a few gentlemen, liked better the other side; . . . now the discreet begin to mislike, the soldiers wax more trusty, and the wealthier are more afraid of spoil . . . their force is like to decline, and their credit will utterly decay."³

Constable, a spy of Cecil's, bears similar testimony, stating that he had seen the men deserting "by dosens yn

¹ "The Earls mistrusted themselves, and while they wasted time and strength in besieging Barnard Castle an army of the South under Lords Warwick and Clinton arrived at Doncaster."—Holinshead, *History of Scotland*.

² Cecil to Sussex, *State Papers*. Hartlepool was taken at the suggestion of the Duke of Alva, who promised to despatch a body of Spanish troops if a secure landing-place were provided.—See Deposition of the Bishop of Rosse, Murdin, p. 42.

³ *State Papers*.

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severall companyes, complening they wolde be hanged at home or (before) they retourned agayn to sarve without wayges ;" ¹ wages, be it understood, meaning food.

The attachment of the mass of the people in the North to the Earls, and to the cause which they represented, continued, however, unabated, and the gaps in their ranks caused by desertion were rapidly filled by new recruits.² Money for the supply of arms and provisions was the crying want on the side of the insurgents, and to obtain this the Earls now made a final appeal to their various foreign and domestic allies. It has already been shown what came of the promises of the former in the hour of need ;³ the latter were busily planning their line of retreat.

The tone of the following circular, which the insurgent leaders addressed to each of those nobles upon whose aid they had reckoned, certainly indicates a previous understanding ; more especially as they had not hitherto thought fit to repudiate the introduction of their names in the " Protestacion," ⁴ (copies of which accompanied these letters) as supporters of the rebellion :—

" OUR VEREY GOOD LORD,—

" We have thought good to make you privie to our goode and Vertuous Intente, for what Cawses we have assembled our selves in Armes, and howe we procede for

¹ *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii. p. 63.

² " Many gather to the rebells from places nere to them and farre from us, and many come from them in places nere to us."—Sussex to Cecil, *State Papers*. " The inhabitants of Cleveland, Allertonshire Rychmondshyre and the Bishopyrcke are all hollie gone to the Earls. such is their affection for the cause of religion, by means whereof they have given to the force of grete nombres but yet confused without order armour or wepon."—Sadler to Cecil, *Ibid*.

³ Northumberland states (see his " Confession ") that as late as during the siege of Barnard Castle he had received assurances from Alva of aid in men and money in a very short time. The message was sent to him direct by a special messenger from the Spanish ambassador.

⁴ Appendix V.

the benefite of our Stats and Sewertie of the Crowne of Englande, which we send you herinclosed in the verey forme of our Proclamacion. A.D. 1569

“And for the great confidence and trust we have in your Lordship’s vertuous meaning and religion, with the care your Lordship hath of the Preservacion of the Queen’s Majestie and the quiet of this Commonwealth, the maintenance of God’s true Religion, and the conserving of the ancyent nobilitie, with the Safety of your Friendes and their howses, we ar most hartily to require you for the causes aforesaide, to rayse your Lordships powers to joyn with ours, and also to procure such ayde and assistance in all parte of your Lordships Territoryes, as maybe more terror to effect our godly and honorable Enterprises. And bycawse we knowe your Lordship is wise, we forbear to perswade with you howe necessarie this warre is, which indede ys a peace, to the performance of our dewties. And therefore, good my Lord, lett us, according to the hope we repose in your Lordshipp, receyve an assurance of your good meaning and forwardnes herein, and to heare from you againe with spede. And so we most hartilie take our leave of your good Lordship. At Ripon this 27th daye of November 1569.

“Your good Lordships

“assured and loving Friends

“T. NORTHUMBERLAND

“C. WESTMORELAND.”¹

Whatever chances of success the Rising in the North may once have possessed had now vanished; and the Earl of Derby determined not only to dissociate himself from “the two Rebeles,” but to repudiate their confidence and to expose their designs. He accordingly

¹ Haynes, p. 564.

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sent the "Protestacion" and its covering letter to the Queen, declaring that he had perceived "the matter to swarve so farre from the dutie of any good subject," and "besechyng God long to prosper your Majestie and to make you Victoriose over your Enemies."¹

Leicester had already made his peace by urging upon Elizabeth a more severe treatment of the Scottish Queen; while Arundel and Pembroke, fresh from the experience of the Tower, overwhelmed their Sovereign and her Minister with assurances of unalterable attachment to the throne and of abhorrence of the rebels and their cause. The Duke of Norfolk, too, in whose behalf, to a great extent, the sword had been drawn, had lost no time in writing to the Queen from his prison to assure her "of my poor honestie that I never dealt with any of those rebellious persons, either for the matters of religion, (wherein I abhor theirs) or else for the matter of title, or casting any dangers with them for this doubtfulness of the succession to the crown."²

The northern rebellion was as foolish as it was criminal; unjustifiable in its origin, feeble in its conduct, contemptible in its collapse. Yet the attitude of "those simple Earls" appears dignified by contrast with that of

¹ The Earl of Derby to the Queen, Lathom, 29th November, 1569. Haynes, p. 563. It was not a time for the Queen's Government to reject proffered allegiance from so influential a quarter; but Cecil was pretty well informed of the actual state of things, and knew the value of Lord Derby's professions. One of his agents writes to him:—"Consydering the late facsyons which have within the last few yeares growed in that country (Lancashire) as well for folyshe opynyons of relygyon, as other comon acsyons betwene the Erle of Derby and others, yt resteth doudtful that all the keyes of Lankashyer do not presentlie hange at the Erle of Derby's owlde gyrdell."—Sir Francis Leeke to Cecil, December 20th, 1569, *Original State Papers*, Record Office.

² Norfolk to the Queen, 3rd December, 1569, Haynes, p. 567. The abject tone of Norfolk's letter to Elizabeth would seem to justify the terms in which the Spanish ambassador refers to him: "*mas liebra que león*."

1809
1809

I have to wish and subscribe you to pray for and suffer
the same I shall subscribe to pray for and suffer
from others to please myself for myself and my
all my friends of you are my wife and my wife
and my friends of you are my wife and my wife
and my friends of you are my wife and my wife
and my friends of you are my wife and my wife

John F. M. M. M.

I have to wish and subscribe you to pray for and suffer
the same I shall subscribe to pray for and suffer
from others to please myself for myself and my
all my friends of you are my wife and my wife
and my friends of you are my wife and my wife
and my friends of you are my wife and my wife

PASSPORT. SIGNED BY
7TH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND
AND

their English and foreign ¹ allies, who in turn incited and ignored, supported and repudiated, their dupes, as the chances of success rose or fell.

Sussex was now in a position to take the offensive. On the 8th of December he writes to Cecil :—" My horsemen I think be fewer in nomber than the rebels, but the most of those I have be now well appoynted, savynge for pystollets, and my fotemen begin to frame metely well." Three days later he reports that he is advancing on Allerton, and hopes shortly to effect a juncture with the Southern army.

The Earls still made a show of resistance however. On the 11th of December they issued a proclamation addressed to the bailiffs and governors of Richmond, who are required " in the Queen's Majesty's name " to appear at Staneydrop on a given day, " with all able men between xvi. and lx. years as be within Richmond with such furniture of horse armour and wepon as any of you have," together with " victuals for six dayes to serve with all." ²

On the following day they served a notice upon the tenants of " the supposed Bishop of Durham " requiring them (still in the Queen's name ³) to pay their rents on

¹ The ignoble conduct of the Spanish King was surpassed by the duplicity of the French Court as revealed in the *Recueil des Dépêches*. Before and throughout the insurrection the King and the Queen-mother had warmly encouraged the Earls by promises of money and armed support. After its suppression (January 14th, 1570), Fénelon is desired to convey their Majesties' sympathy to the Rebel leaders, and at the same time to express to Elizabeth their satisfaction at their defeat, which the King assures Her Majesty he had always expected, and which, as a punishment of men who rise against their anointed Sovereigns, he considered " a just judgment of God."

² *Original State Papers*, Record Office.

³ To the adherents of Mary Stuart, the name of the Scottish Queen may have appeared to be the authority thus invoked, but as she had only been proclaimed as the future successor to the throne, it is to be doubted whether the Earls had any such meaning in their proclamations.

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a given day to officers to be appointed by the Earls,¹ and then, learning that Sir John Forster was marching upon Durham from Newcastle, they determined to advance against him, and to risk a pitched battle. The two armies met at Chester-Dean; but whether, as he stated, because of the impracticability of crossing the intervening streams with his ordnance, or that he found himself unable to cope with the rebel forces, Forster fell back unmolested after some harmless skirmishing.²

The rebellion was now virtually at an end;³ and on the 16th of December the Earls disbanded the bulk of their army,⁴ and with only a few hundred horsemen fled precipitately to Hexham, pursued by Forster with a thousand light horse,⁵ Sussex himself⁶

¹ *Harleian MSS.*, No. 6990, 45.

² A description of this bloodless encounter will be found in Holinhead's *Chronicles of Scotland*.

³ Not so the elements which had composed the danger. On 29th December Hunsdon bids Cecil, whose sagacity in gauging popular feeling had been strangely at fault throughout this movement, "advise her Majestye to look well to herself, and not to thynke all golde that glysters, for yt wyll falle owte to be the greatyst conspyracy that hath byne yn this reelme thys 100 yeres." On the following day he tells the Queen that "there is a great sort of noblemen, and a nombre of others, that are in thys conspyracy that wold have begun sune yf thys had not burste owte before the tyme, and is not unlykely to fowle owte yet, yf hyt be not foreseen."—*Memorials*, pp. 123 and 125.

⁴ "The Lord Rebelles at one of the clock of this present daye, have given warning to the comon people to make shifte for themselves, and therefore have themselves departed with a grete number of horsemen. westwards as is reported."—Valentine Brown (Treasurer of Berwick) to Cecil, 16th December, 1569, *State Papers*.

⁵ Sussex to Cecil, 17th December, 1569, *State Papers*. In the same letter he reports the evacuation, by the rebels, of Hartlepool. Sir Henry Percy joined in the pursuit. See Secretary Cecil's letter to Sir Henry Norris, *Cabala*, p. 159.

⁶ "I intend God willing to set forwardes towards Esham to-morrowe at four in the mornynge, and wyll remove them of their lodgyngs or make them paye dearly for it; and so wyll followe ther footsteppes, whersever they flye, over hylles, wastes or waters, untill I have ether geven them the overthrowe or put them owte of the realme."—Sussex to Cecil, 19th December, 1569, *State Papers*.

following with fifteen hundred horse and six hundred arquebusiers, while Warwick and Clinton, leaving the Foot-Men at Ripon, advanced rapidly with their cavalry and six guns.

Driven from Hexham,¹ the two Earls, with the Countess of Northumberland, Richard Norton, one or two of their confederates and a greatly reduced force of horsemen, made towards the Borders, and sought refuge with Leonard Dacre at Naworth, who not only refused to receive them, but made a show of joining in the pursuit of his defeated allies.²

Continuing their headlong flight northwards, they crossed the frontier, and threw themselves upon the hospitality of the notorious thieves and outlaws of Liddesdale.³

¹ Northumberland's intention of throwing himself into the strongholds of his own county where, surrounded by a population devoted to him, he might long have defied his enemies, had been defeated by the seizure of Warkworth and Alnwick Castles by Sir John Forster, who had placed garrisons in both places, holding them on the part of the Queen. An account of this proceeding is given in Holinshead's *Scotland*. Sir John Forster's stewardship was subsequently thus described by Hunsdon:—"Yt ys grete pytty too see how Alnwyck Castel and Warkworth are spoyled by hym and hys. . . . And for the Abbey that standes in Hulne Parke he hathe left neyther lede, glase, irrne, nor so much as the pypes of lede that conveyed the water to the howse, but he hathe browght yt to hys owne howse; and as I am credibly informed he meanes uterley to deface bothe the uther howses, Warkworth and Alnwick. . . . *Yt was a happy rebellyon too hym*, and no man howsoever he ys opprest dare complayne."—Lord Hunsdon to Lord Burghley, April 1572, *Memorials*. Sussex repeatedly makes similar complaints of the spoil and oppression of the Lords Warwick and Clinton while their armies were in the North.

² Notwithstanding the urgent appeal of Edward Dacre, who writes to his brother:—"Do not forget to send to comfort Lady Northumberland, to whom you are so very much bound; for surely if there were ever honour, goodness and virtue in any woman, they are in her."—*State Papers*.

³ "The 16th hereof they broke up their sorry army, the 18th they entered into Northumberland, and on the 19th into the mountains. They have scattered all of their footmen, willing them to shift for themselves, and of one thousand horsemen there fled but five hundred. By this time they be fewer, and I trust either taken or fled into Scotland,

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"What a fond and foolish end these rebels have made of their traiterous rebellion! they always fled before us after we came within xii miles of them, and we followed after them as hard as we might, without rest. Nevertheless you see how they bee escaped, which they might easily do in this wast and desolat country."¹

Elizabeth, apprehensive of the effects which the escape of the Earls to the Continent might produce upon her relations with foreign powers,² now made vigorous efforts to induce the Regent Murray to join with her in hunting down the rebel leaders. To this end, flattery, bribes and menaces were lavishly employed by her agents; and Murray, intent upon his own ambitious schemes, would have had no scruple in conciliating Elizabeth by the employment of military force for the interception of the fugitives. Border custom, however, had given to this right of asylum all the force of international law, no less than of a recognised claim to hospitality; and he hesitated to face the storm of public indignation which an overt breach of this ancient practice would have aroused.³

where the Regent Murray is in good readiness to chase them to their ruin."—Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, 24th December, 1569, *Cabala*, p. 159.

¹ Sadler to Cecil, *Memorials*, p. 114.

² "The Erles rebels and their principal confederats do lurk and hide themselves in the woodds and deserts of Lyddesdale, but if they tarry on the borders there is good hope to have some of them or it be long. The greatest feare is of their escape by the sea. . . . There is no doubt but that the Regent will do all he can to get those rebels into his own handes."—Sadler to Cecil, 24th December, *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii. p. 70. "The vermin be fledd into a forrayn covert, where I feare theves and murderors will be the hosts and mayntenors of our rebels."—Cecil to Sadler, 25th December, *ibid.* p. 73.

³ So strong was popular feeling in Scotland on this point, that Elizabeth's local agents became very doubtful of the Regent being ultimately as able as he was willing to surrender the guests of the nation. Lord Hunsdon writes to the Queen on 30th December in his usual honestly blunt style:—"Generally all sortes both of men and women crye out for the libertye of the countrie, which is to succor banyshyt men, as themselves have been received in England nat lang sins; and is the

To refuse compliance with the English demand was attended with equal danger, for to attain her end the Queen would not have hesitated to violate Scottish territory with her own armies. Murray, therefore, determined to get possession of the persons of the leading insurgents by stratagem, as a preliminary to further and perhaps more favourable negotiation for their surrender ; and in one Hector Armstrong he found an agent worthy of the service to be performed.

Lord Northumberland had, with his Countess, found shelter under the roof of an outlaw named John of the Syde,¹ in "a cottage not to be compared to any doggekennel in England,"² writes Sussex.

The Regent now employed an influential Liddesdale man to urge the danger incurred by their community in harbouring rebels ; whose expulsion would not only be an act pleasing to the authorities, but afford a rare opportunity for plunder. These arguments prevailed, and the

freedom of all countries as they alledge. . . . I doubt whether the Regent dare deliver the Erle. . . . Your Majesty shall perhaps hear of some objections whie they should not as well kepe your rebelles, as your Majestic to kepe their Queene being fled from them."—*State Papers*.

On 13th January following he writes to the same effect :—"The most parte of the nobylette of Scotland, and especyally a' this syde Edenburro, thynkes yt a grete reproche and ygnomminy too the hole country, to delyver any banyst man to the slaughter ; accounting ytt a lybertye and freedome, yncydent to all nacions, too succor banyst men."—*State Papers*. Sir Ralph Sadler expresses the same views. See his letter of 8th January, 1570, to Lord Clinton. *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii. p. 97.

¹ "He is well kend, John of the Syde,
A greater thefe did never ryde."—Maitland.

² "The Earls rebelles, with their principal confeyderates and the Countess of Northumberland, did, the 20th of the present in the night, flee into Liddesdale with about 100 horse ; and there remaine under the conduction of Black Ormstone, one of the murtherers of the Lord Darnley, and John of the Syde and the Lairds Joke, two notable theves of Lidesdale."—Sussex to the Queen, 22nd December, 1569. *Original State Papers*. Record Office.

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Earls and their followers were driven forth.¹ The story is told in the native dialect of a contemporary writer, who appears unconscious of its shame :—²

“ Upoun the xxv day of the said moneth of December, my Lord Regent convenit with Mairtene Elliot that he sould betraise Thomas Erle of Northumberland, quha wes fled in Liddisdaill out of England for refuge, in this maner ; that is to say the said Mairtine causit Heckie Armystrong³ desyre my Lord of Northumberland to cum and speik with him under tryst, and causit the said Erle believe that, efter speiking, gif my lord Regent wald persew him, that he and his freindis sould tak plane pairt with the Erle of Northumberland. And when the said Erle come with the said Heckie Armystrong to speik the said Mairtine he causit certane licht horsmen of my Lord Regentis with vtheris his freindis to ly at a wait, and quhen thay sould sie the said Erle and the said Mairtyne speiking togidder, that they suld come and tak the said Erle ; and sua as was devysit, sua come to pas.

“ And the said Erle being tane under traist, as said is, certane of his assistaris followed, and persewed the said Martine and his company, purposing to have releivit the said Erle ; and in their perforce, Capitane Johne Borthwick, Capitan of my Lord Regentis horsmen, was

¹ “ In the end Marten Elwood (Elliot) sayd to Ormston he wold be sorry to enter dedly fewde with him by bloodshed ; but he would charge him and the reste before the Regent, for keping of the rebels of England, yf he did not put them owt of the countrie. . . . Whereupon the Erles were driven to leave Lydesdall, and to fly to one of the Armstrongs upon the *Batable* (neutral ground) between Rydsdale and England.”—Sussex to Cecil, 22nd December. *Memorials*, p. 114.

² “ Diurnal of remarkable Occurrents,” published in the *Transactions* of the Bannatyne Club, 1833. See also *Historie of James the Sext*, republished in Edinburgh in 1804.

³ This man’s treachery was doubly base, since he had himself, while a fugitive in England, enjoyed the protection of the Earl of Northumberland.

slane, and the remanent raid to Hawick ; quhairto they brocht the said Erle, and thairefter to Jedburgh, quha gat na presens of my Lord Regent quhill the xxvij day of December, at the quhilk tyme thay wer cumand to Edinburgh."

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Well might Sussex in conveying this intelligence to the Queen "perceive howe redie and willing the Regent of Scotland is to do your Majestye all the service he may."

On his expulsion from Liddesdale, Northumberland, reluctant to expose his brave wife to further dangers or privations, and believing probably in the fallacious proverb that there is honour even among thieves, intrusted her to the care of her lawless hosts. No sooner was his back turned, however, than they set to work to pillage their guest,² Black Ormestone³ setting the example by "spoulzieing" her of her jewels, money, and clothing, and the others appropriating the horses left for her and her attendants.

Thus Lady Northumberland, deprived of the means of seeking refuge elsewhere, penniless, and with only the clothes she wore, remained in the nest of robbers, while

¹ Sussex and Sadler to the Queen, Hexham, 25th December. *State Papers*.

² "The same daye the Lydesdale men stole my Lady of Northumberland's horse, and her two women's horses, and other horses: so that when the Erles went away, they left her and all the rest that had lost their horses, on foote at John of the Syde's house . . . such is their present mysery."—*Memorials*, p. 115. Sir Richard Maitland's quaint description of these men deserves quotation:—

"Of Liddisdaill, the commoun theifis,
Sa pertly steilis now and reifis,
That nane may keip, hors, colt, nor sheip,
Nor yet dar sleip, for thair mischiefis."

³ "The Laird of Ormestoune . . . spoulzeist the Erle of Northumberland's house, and his wyff of all her jewellis, her cleithing and poise."—*Memorials*, p. 343.

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the chief of the Percies, under an assumed name, and in the garb of an outlaw,¹ wandered forth to fall into the trap prepared for him.

On the 8th of January, 1569-70, Sadler writes to the Lord Admiral :—" The Erle of Northumberland is in the custodie of the Regent, and the Countess of Northumberland, Erle of Westmoreland and others be receyved, ayded, and mayntayned, agenst the Regent's will, by the Lord Hume,² the Lord of Farnyherst, the Lady of Bucleugh and others." ³

About the same time Lord Hunsdon writes to the Regent :—

" Upon Thursday night last the Countess of Northumberlande was brought by Farnelhurst toward Hewme Castell, and was fayne to staye by the waye att Rocksborrowe, by the soreness of the wether (being a greate storme); so as it was eight of the clock on Fridaie morning or she came to Hewme, and is ther yett, onlesse this Daie she be convoyed to Fauxe Castell.

" Your Grace knowes well that the Quenes Maiestie cannot take this well at ther hands; espetially at my Lord Hewmes, with whom she may easelie be quittaunce, and make him repent his follie, as I doubt not but she will." ⁴

¹ "The Erles have changed their names and apparell, and ryde lyke the outlawes of Lyddesdale."—Sadler to Cecil, *Sadler Papers*. ii. 71.

² This noble Scot was among the most prominent champions of the national right of asylum, and according to Maitland, in reply to the demand for the surrender of his guests, "said he would rather give his head, or he sould do so vyil a deid." Lady Northumberland appears subsequently to have made a convert of him, for Sir Thomas Gargrave on 2nd March, 1571, informs Cecil that "Lord Hume has forsaken religion (*i.e.* become a Catholic) and hears two or three masses daily with Lady Northumberland."—*State Papers*.

³ *Sadler Papers*, ii. 97.

⁴ Lord Hunsdon to the Regent of Scotland, 9th January, 1570, Haynes, p. 573.

Ready as the Regent had hitherto shown himself, to allow the right of asylum to be violated in the persons of those included in the Act of Attainder for participation in the late rising,¹ Elizabeth's threats did not deter him from affording shelter to Lady Northumberland.

"I deme you will not think it strange," he writes, "although it sal be reported that the Countesse of Northumberland is in Hume Castell; for then it is that at my being in Jedburgh, hearing of her great miserie, and inhuman usage be the outlawes and theves, I declared to the Countrymen that I wolde not take it in evill parte, whosoever resett (received) her, making me privie thereto."²

The position of the Earl of Northumberland and his wife was indeed at this time such as to excite sympathy rather than resentment, as appears from a letter³ now written by Alan King to Sir Henry Percy:—

"My Lord of Northumberland is in Edenbrough and not in ward, but in the keeping of my Lord Regent, who hath gyven my Lord licence to lye in the town of Edinburgh with a garde of the Regent's men, and my Lord hath of his owne men seven principal. . . My Lord's request is by Robert⁴ to you, who is both in grete distresse and miserye at this present, cleane without apparell or money, of your brotherlynes to extend your liberalitie to releve him withal at this his present necessitie; and also he desyreth you to write, or send him word of such newes as you may impart him withal; first what lykeing the nobility hath of his trouble; secondly, how

¹ The list contained 57 names, and included that of the Countess of Northumberland, but not of Lady Westmoreland who had taken so much more active a part in the rebellion. See Appendix VI.

² The Regent of Scotland to the Earl of Sussex, 14th January, 1570, *State Papers*.

³ The letter is published in Wright's *Life of Queen Elizabeth*.

⁴ Robert Shafto, a servant of the Earl of Northumberland.

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and in what case his frendes, men, and those that were with him are used ; thirdly, of his children.

“ My Lady of Northumberland hath her heartily commended unto you, who craveth and desyreth of your counsell in the behalf of my Lord. My Lady lyeth as yet at Fernyhurst, but the Lord Hume hath written lycence for her to come to hym, which she wyll. She might have accesse to my lord to Edinburg, but she thynketh not so good as yet, till she have some more warrent from the Lord Regent ; for that she being at libertye, she is able to make some shifte for my Lord now, and hath alreadye sent home to her frendes, as to my Lord of Worcester. Her request also is, that if you wolde send some trustye man of your owne to my Lord and her, you might pleasure them very much, and they would discourse unto him of such things as are yet in safetie, which might be now to their releves, or at the least it might come to your handes. Farther my lady wolde that you should understand, that disagreement that was amongst them chiefly was the cause of this their mishappe and ill fortune to sever and flie ; also for my Lord Dakers breach, which hath been aforetime, he hath showed himself a sorrowful man, who is as yet thought, and no otherwise knowne to my lady, but that he will assiste them if they will cumme into England, or when they cumme.”

“ At my Lord of Northumberland’s first cumming into

* Leonard Dacre had by this time turned against the English Queen, and openly defied Sussex, who, attacking him at Naworth on February 20th, sent him “ flying across the border like a tall gentleman, and I thinke never looked behind hym tyll he was at Lydesdale,” and thence over the seas, to hatch fresh treasons in the Low Countries. See Lord Hunsdon’s spirited retort on the capture of Naworth in Sharpe’s *Memorials*. To do him justice, however, Dacre only took to flight when overcome by numbers, and after a desperate resistance. Camden says : “ Pugnatum sane utrinque acriter, et Leonardus (gibbosus licet) nihil non fecit quod in duce fortissimo requiratur, sed, plurimis suorum cæsis, victoriam haudquam lætam Hunsdonio reliquit, et in Scotiam proximam se recepit.”—*Annales*. See also Appendix VII.

Scotland the Regent did not, nor wolde not, talk with him in three dayes together; but after they had mett and talked, they otherwyse agreed and many times talked.

"My Lady Northumberland hath sent to my Lady (Percy) and earnestlye desyreth her to send her some apparell, as she is destitute both of wollen and linnen."

If true information was furnished to the unhappy Earl upon the three points on which he expressed himself anxious to be enlightened, it could not have added to his peace of mind. The nobility were far too busily engaged in making their own peace with Elizabeth to occupy themselves with him or "his trouble"; the "frendes and men and those that were with him" had been ruthlessly slaughtered, and his poor children were exposed to the hardship of a Yorkshire winter without food or fuel.

"Passing by the younge ladys," writes their uncle, "I founde them in harde case, for nether had they any provisions, nor one penny to relyve with, but some lyttel things from me. They would gladly be removyde; *their want of fire is grette*, whose yeres may not suffer that lacke."¹

The part played by Sir Henry Percy throughout these proceedings will be treated of in the chapter devoted to the story of his life. It need here only be mentioned that he had from the first dissociated himself from the cause of the insurgents; as soon as the rebellion broke out he placed his sword at Elizabeth's disposal, and when only the work of retaliation remained to be done, he had written to Sussex declaring himself "holly devoted to Her Majesty, and reddey with all my force to move against the rebels."²

¹ Sir Henry Percy to Earl of Sussex, 9th January, 1570, *State Papers*. The eldest of the four daughters was only in her twelfth year.

² The same to the same, 7th January, 1570, *Ibid.*

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There is something suspicious in the anxiety he showed to signalize his loyalty, all the more so since he does not appear to have used the influence he had over his brother to turn him from his fatal course. Indeed the appeal which the fugitive Earl now makes to his "brotherliness" met with a very feeble response.

A strong feeling of indignation and resentment had been aroused among Scotchmen of all classes by the proposal on the part of the English Government that the insurgent chiefs who had sought their hospitality should be surrendered.

"I have some cause to doubt," writes Sir Ralph Sadler to Lord Clinton on the 8th January, "whether the said Erle (the Regent) can or will delyver the said rebells. I conceive, by that I have heard, that few or none of the nobility will agree to it."¹

Constable, an impoverished member of an honourable family and one of the most shameless and unscrupulous in the large army of spies employed by the Government,² whom Cecil had despatched to Scotland to watch the refugees, and more especially to worm himself into the confidence of Westmoreland, with whose house he was connected, relates how having entered a place of public entertainment, and sat down to play at "hardheads" with the people there assembled, "I heard, *vox populi*, that the Lord Regent could not for his own honor, nor for the honor of his countrye, delyver the Erles if he had them bothe, unless it were to have the Queen (Mary) delyvered to him; and if he wolde agree to such, that change, the Borderers would start up in his countrye and reave both the Queene and the Lords from him for the

¹ *Sadler Papers.*

² In a letter to his chief this man proclaims himself prepared "to trap them that trust in me, as Judas did Christ," and with amusing impudence claims exceptionally high wages on account of his gentle birth, since he "cannot beg as others do."—*Cabala*, p. 160.

like shame was never done in Scotland." He adds that the indignation at the treachery of Hector Armstrong¹ was universal, and that some of his companions had expressed a wish "to eat his head at supper."

Elizabeth was determined, however, at all hazards to obtain possession of the persons of her rebellious lords, and was advised to place strong garrisons upon the Borders, "to the ende that if those proud Scots will not delyver the said rebells they may be persecuted by Her Majesty's forces, and have their houses, landes, and goods overthrowen, wasted, and destroyed by fyre and sword with all extremyte."²

Sir Henry Gates, who had been sent to Scotland with instructions peremptorily in the Queen's name to demand the surrender of the two Earls, and of "the other rebels recepted in Scotland," appears to have succeeded in overcoming the scruples of the Regent, who had hitherto wavered between apprehension of Elizabeth's displeasure and a regard for his own reputation and the national honour.³ "He shewed us, in very hastie speache, he wolde gladlie of himself accomplish anie thing that lawfully might be in his power to pleasure the Queen's Majesty in that or anie other thing, but that, for the matter was weightie, he thought better to deale in such sorte as offences should not be taken at his doings."⁴

A delay was accordingly granted to enable him to obtain the assent of the Council, which he appears to have done; but on the day preceding that fixed for signing the treaty, the bullet of an assassin saved the Earl

¹ "To take Hector's cloak" passed into a proverb for betraying a friend. See *Maitland's MSS.* (Pinkerton), p. 132.

² *Sadler Papers.*

³ The liberation of Queen Mary, whose prolonged captivity in England had become a cause of embarrassment to Elizabeth, was one of the conditions of the proposed surrender.

⁴ Sir Henry Gates to Cecil, January 20th, 1570, *Original State Papers.*

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of Murray's name from the blot of the contemplated act of dishonour.¹

* * *

Meanwhile a terrible tragedy was in progress at the theatre of the late insurrection. Elizabeth was resolved to strike terror into the hearts of her Catholic subjects, and to crush with a hand of iron all sympathy for the Scottish Queen, all hope of a restored church, all reliance upon the aid of her foreign enemies. Although the movement had hardly risen to the importance of rebellion (except at Barnard Castle, where the casualties were trifling, the Queen's forces and those of the two Earls had never met in actual conflict)² any degree of severity might have been justifiable towards the leaders who had been defeated in the attempt to incite the population of four counties to rise in arms against the authority of their sovereign; and who had appealed to the aid of foreign powers to plunge their country into civil war. It was not upon these, however, that the edge of the sword of justice now descended. The most repulsive feature in the retaliatory measures now adopted by Elizabeth and her agents, is the cold-blooded calculating spirit in which wholesale executions were inflicted upon "the meaner sort," while those were spared who were able to ransom their lives. The gentlemen and substantial yeomen who fell into the hands of the authorities were allowed to escape the penalty of their offences by a

¹ "By direction of the Regent they (the English Commissioners) attended at Edenborough for answer to be given the day of his death; which is now, as our lawyers call it, *sine die*."—Cecil to Sir Henry Norris. *Cabala*, p. 160. The Regent Murray had been shot on 22nd January, and died on the following morning.

² "In the besieging of Barnard Castle they killed five men, three within and two without. That night the skirmish was, they hurt with arquebus shot three score and seven within the Castle. These were the greatest spoils and outrages they committed, so far as I know." *Memorials*, p. 187.

money payment; while the poor peasants—to most of whom implicit obedience to their local chiefs was second nature—were consigned to the gallows by hundreds.

As early as on 20th December, while the Earls were in full flight from Hexham, Cecil wrote to Sadler :

"It were pittie but some of those rascalls were hanged by martialle lawe; *but the rycher wold be but taken and attaynted, for otherwise it is doubtfull how the Quene's Majestie shall have any forfeiture of ther landes or goodes.*"^{*} Sussex was, however, too well acquainted with the Queen's ruling passion to require any instructions on this point: "I had resolved before receipt of her Majestye's letter not to execute martial law *against any that had inheritance or greate wealth*, as I knew the law in that case."

At the same time he submits the first list of rebels whom he proposes to execute in the county of Durham; these are 314 in number, and he promises "a like execution in Richmondshire when the Marshall has finished this; as also at Allerton, Topcliffe and Thirske, besides

^{*} *Sadler Papers*, vol. ii., p. 69. Sussex had suggested that in view of the large forfeiture likely to accrue in Durham, the Bishop, to whom these would fall, should be translated to another see, so that, *sede vacante*, the Queen derive the benefit; and in recommending convicted rebels to mercy he never failed to make use of the argument most certain to convince Elizabeth. Of one man he writes: "He has many children, has married a widow that has children; was of honest behaviour and was greatly lamented; his land was assured to his wife *so that the Queen will lose by his death.*" Of another: "By his death the Queen will lose, but not by his life."—Again of one Sayers, "A verie young man a servant of the Erle of Northumberland, and the son of loyal parents; I have compounded for his pardon for the fyne of Five Hundred Pounds if the Queen's Majestye be pleased, which if he shoulde be executed she shold have nothing. I have talked with others in like sort, and if Her Majesty allows thereof I will proceed, but have made no promise to any one that hath either freehold or wealth, nor do I mean that the common householders shall escape without fine, as by many litle a great sum will rise. I think the like commodity was never raised to any prince in any rebellions that shall be in this, if no man restrains me in my office."—Sussex to Cecil, 8th January, 1570. *State Papers*.

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which there shall be no town whence any man who went to serve the Earls, and continued after a pardon proclaimed but one or more shall be executed for example." ¹

The tone of this letter would certainly not seem to indicate any disposition to undue leniency ; but the Queen is not satisfied and writes : " We marvel that we have heard of no execution by martial law, as was appointed, of *the meaner sort of rebels* in the north. If the same be not already done, you are to proceed thereunto, for the terror of others, with expedition." ²

In a subsequent letter Elizabeth accuses Sussex of want of zeal, and a leaning towards her disaffected subjects, to which he replies : " If, after all my service, this hard opinion be conceived, it is *durus sermo*, which has been the sauce to my service for twelve years past." ³ With Thomas Gargrave, the Sheriff of Yorkshire, the Queen is better satisfied, for she writes to thank him for his " diligent service " in hanging matters, and bids have special regard to " preserve for our use all goods and lands within your sheriffwyck belonging to rebels." ⁴

Cecil, not to be outdone in zeal, recommends that, as a preliminary to execution, the culprits " be putte to some feare, and thereto also, as nede should be, being *pynched with some lack of foode and with payne of imprisonment*."

Lord Hunsdon, whose instincts (when deference to the harder nature of his royal cousin did not warp them.) were ever humane and generous, pleaded more than once for mercy to these " pore simple creatures ; " but this was not to be, and the scenes which ensued were hardly

¹ Sussex to Cecil, 4th January, 1570. *Original State Papers*.

² Queen Elizabeth to Sussex, 11th January, 1570. *Ibid*.

³ Sussex to Cecil, 10th January, 1570. *Ibid*.

⁴ In a letter to Cecil dated 6th January Gargrave urges that all obstinate Catholics who still " refuse service and communion " should be " attainted in *premunire* for one year, and then death for heresy."

surpassed in barbarity, though necessarily more limited in extent, by those enacted under the authority of the Duke of Alva in the Low Countries. Sussex had appointed Sir Robert Bowes his Provost-Marshal and, if report did not belie him, the gallant defender of Barnard Castle, (whose treatment by the rebels had not, it must be allowed, been calculated to soften his heart towards them) showed no backwardness in the performance of the duties of his grim office.¹

On the 10th January the Lord Lieutenant writes to him (he is speaking, not of heads of cattle, but of Englishmen): "I have sett the nombres to be executed in every towne, under the name of every towne, as I did in your other booke, which draweth nere to two hundred; wheryn you maye use your dyscretyn in takyng more or lesse in every towne as you shall see juste cause for the offences and fitness for example; so as in the whole you pass not of all kynde of such, the number of two hundred; amongst whom you *maye not execute eny that hathe freholds or is noted welthye; for so is the Quenes Majestye's plesier, by her speciall comandment.*"²

Sir George Bowes, severe as he was, showed a desire to discriminate between the innocent and guilty,³ but the Queen was on economical grounds impatient of the tardiness of his proceedings:

"Her Majesty doth much marvell that she doth not hear from me that the execution is yet ended, and that she is disburdened of her charges that was consydered for that respect; and therefore I praye you to use

¹ In hanging one Harrison in his own orchard he is said to have remarked that "The best fruit a tree can bear is a dead traitor." *Sadler Papers*, ii. 82.

² *Memorials*, p. 143.

³ "But the time is convenient to be somewhat prolonged, for in this course I find the constables in sundrie places hath accused thes that did leaste, and excused the greatest offenders."—Bowes to Cecil. *Ibid.*

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expedytion for I fear this lyngering will brede displeasure for us both."¹

Once again: "It is thought that the executions be very longe in doynge, and I fere the Queene's Majestye will find cause of offence that her chardge contynued so long for that purpose;"² therefore I praye you make all the haste you can to avoyde offence, for a lytell matter will styrrre offence where charge groweth by it."³

A lytell matter! Only the time required to make sure that innocent men might not be included among the seven hundred wretches sentenced to be hanged as an example.⁴

On the 19th of January Cecil writes:—

"I would have you make the examples grete in Ripon and Tadcaster; and therefore, if you find not sufficient nombres within the towns that be in the doings of the late rebellion, take of other towns and bryng them to the execution in those places."⁵

In December Sussex had written: "I guess the number that shall be executed will be 600 or 700 of the common sort besides the prisoners taken in the field,"⁶ and this

¹ Cecil to Sussex. *State Papers. Addenda.*

² In reference to the cost of the garrisons, which it was thought necessary to maintain, during the course of these wholesale executions.

³ *Memorials*, p. 153.

⁴ An instance of the result of the hasty proceedings thus enjoined is given in a letter written by Mathew Shafto, in January 1570, to implore Sir Henry Percy's intercession on behalf of his brother James, under sentence for immediate execution. "The truth is, that James Shafto of Tamfieldlighe, tenant to the Erle of Northumberland, is prycked to die, *which is meant for my father and not for my brother*, for he was never tenant to any man . . . but was a household servant and a young man and no retayner. For Chryst's passion helpe now to save his lyfe, for tomorrow he will suffer unless your letters helpe."—*Original State Papers.* Record Office.

⁵ *Memorials*, p. 160.
⁶ Sussex to Cecil, December 28th, 1569. He came to be thoroughly ashamed of the work in which he was employed. "I was first a lieutenant, I was after little better than a marshall, I had then nothing left but to direct hanging matters."—To Sir Robert Cecil, 23rd January, 1570. *State Papers.*

estimate is borne out by the detailed report drawn up in October 1573 by Lord Huntingdon, who put the number of rebels actually executed at "seven hundred and odd, . . . wholly of the meanest of the people, except the Aldermen of Durham, Plomtrie,¹ their preacher, the constables, and fifty serving-men."² Of the gentlemen concerned in the rising many had succeeded in making their escape; but those who submitted or were apprehended, were tried by a royal commission assembled at York in March, and were as a rule convicted, but pardoned on payment of a fine, the principle of these proceedings being thus laid down:—

"We mean not onely to receive to composition all such persons as shall submit themselves to our orders and have not above v li in lande . . . according to our commission and instruction in that case, but also to stave execution of such persons as have no landes and shall be *for the Queen's benefit* attained."³

So the royal exchequer was filled and "the meaner sort" paid with their poor lives the penalty of overstrained allegiance to their Lords.

¹ Sir Thomas Plomtrie described as "an old Queen Mary's Priest," who had celebrated mass in Durham Cathedral on the first outbreak. The refrain to a popular ballad on his execution is:

"Well adaye, well adaye, well adaye, woe is mee!
Syr Thomas Plomtree is hanged on a tree!"—

Sadler Papers.

² *Memorials*. The Bishop of Durham, whose legal right to all forfeitures by attainder, or in course of law, Elizabeth had arbitrarily set aside in her own favour, in consideration of her "heavy charges in suppressing this rebellion," informed Cecil that among the people within his jurisdiction "the number of offenders is so grete that few innocent are left to trye the guiltie."—*Lansdowne MSS.*, 12, 29. It must be borne in mind, however, that suspicion of attachment to the ancient faith constituted "guilt."

³ Sussex to Cecil, March 1570. *State Papers*.

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The death of the Regent Murray had thrown Scottish affairs into inextricable disorder, and given strong encouragement to Queen Mary's party on both sides of the border. Not only were the negotiations for the surrender of the English insurgent chiefs completely broken off, but their sympathisers made several destructive raids into England.¹ In reprisal for these acts, and even yet more to punish and intimidate those border lords who had been most conspicuous in harbouring her rebel subjects, Elizabeth now directed an invasion of Scotland on a formidable scale.²

In the middle of April the English forces to the number of 12,000 horse and foot, crossed the frontier in three columns; Sussex and Hunsdon from the East Marches into Teviotdale, Forster from the Middle Marches, Lord Scrope from the West Marches. They met with little organised opposition but, as in the progress of Atilla's hordes, it was long ere the grass grew again where their horses' feet had trod. For five days the fair and fertile vales of Teviot and the adjoining districts were ravaged with fire and sword, and on his return to England Sussex reported to the Queen that his armies had levelled fifty castles and burnt above five hundred villages.³

¹ The Earl of Westmoreland was charged by Sadler with having taken part in these expeditions. See *Memorials*, p. 297.

² "Since the Regent's death the Borderers have maintained our rebels and invaded England; wherefore for which purpose my Lord of Sussex is now crossed with an army to invade them and make revenge, whereof the Scotch heering do make all the means they can to be reconciled, but they must feel the sword and the firebrand."—Cecil to Sir Henry Norris, 22nd May, 1570, *Cabala*, 162.

³ Full details of this merciless raid will be found under the misleading heading of "A Note of a Journey into Teviotdale, by the Earl of Sussex," and "The Rode of the Lord Scrope."—*Ibid.* p. 164.

In his official Report, Sussex, after enumerating the ravages committed, says: "So as there be few in that country that have received the rebels or invaded England, that have either castles for themselves or

While the Queen was thus engaged in chastising the Scots for the cold hospitality they had afforded to her subjects, Lady Northumberland continued her weary efforts to effect the liberation of her husband, now in the charge of William Douglas of Lochleven; her main object being to raise such a sum of money as would induce his custodian to set him free or, at the least, to connive at his escape. The royal displeasure, however, created an insuperable barrier between her and her former friends, who turned a deaf ear to her appeals, even her own brother refusing to hold communication with her; and when Lord Hunsdon answered her letter to him with a few kindly words and the promise of his good offices on her behalf,² the Queen angrily censured him for maintaining relations with the rebels.

Such was the dread which she could inspire that even the old soldier, whose loyalty might have been thought beyond question, endeavoured to deprecate the suspicion of his sovereign by falsely attributing to himself a most unworthy motive for his courteous and kindly act.

"And so I wrote a few lynes to hyr, the cobby whereof I send you, as also the cobby of hyr letter to me: *by thyse meanes I gott parfytt knowledge where they wer all, as also of her removynge to Hewme; whereof I dyd presentlie advertise the Regent, whereof he had no certayne knowledge byfore; for both Ferneyhead and*

houses for their tennants, besides the loss and spoil of their other goodes."

¹ "The Earl of Worcester declined to receive a servant who came with a message from his sister the Countess of Northumberland, until she should submit herself to the Queen."—*State Papers*.

² The Countess of Northumberland gratefully acknowledged Lord Hunsdon's "comfortable letters, though I had thought that nothing but death could have separated me from my husband," and begs of him to make intercession with the Queen for her children and servants. 17th January, 1570.—*Ibid*.

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Buckleugh had denyed the havyng of them to the Regent, and *this was the cause of my sending to hyr*, whereyn I trust I have gyven Hyr Majesty no cause of offense."¹

Henry Percy's connection with Cecil's family gave him a certain influence which he might now doubtless have turned to good account in favour of his unfortunate brother, and Lady Northumberland urgently appealed to him to exert it. He was too careful of his own interests, however, to incur the risk of exposing himself to suspicion of sympathy with the disaffected, and accordingly demanded authority for entering into a correspondence with the Earl with a view to induce him to submit himself to the Queen's mercy. Having obtained this he sent Cecil, for approval, the draft of his letter which was certainly well calculated to remove all apprehension of undue fraternal affection on his part.²

"Sir, with my humble and hearty commendations. I have spoken with my lord-lieutenant concerning that liberty the Queen's Majesty did give me in advising my brother; and finding him nothing willing, neither of himself nor for me, to enter into the matter without some commission to be showed, makes me to stay of my intention; and before that I proceeded further I thought good to show unto you the sum of my meaning which I send herewith; most humbly desiring that if it be such as may be allowed of, I might understand the same by your good means; and if it be to the contrary to give me your friendly advice, as far as is reason for you to do, how

¹ Hunsdon to Cecil, Berwick, 24th January, 1570. *Original State Papers*. Record Office.

² This letter, though more properly belonging to the life of the 8th Earl, refers so directly to the incidents under review that it is here introduced.

I shall proceed. The cause I am so scrupulous is that I have many enemies, and such as both for ill-will to myself, and gain of my title, goeth about by undue means to take me in trap, and by practice hath put the same in use since my coming home, whereupon I am the more afraid to deal. Yet considering that it is the office of a natural brother to seek all means possible to make help in time of extremity, I would be loth to leave that which, by the goodness of God and mercifulness of the Prince, might be attained for his commodity ; for I hear that he is very penitent and his wife in great misery. This I have written is so gross that I am ashamed any of judgment should have sight of it, but, Sir, for God's cause think I am no lattenist nor secretary, nor know the rules of congruity, and therefore if there be any matter offensive in it, impute it to ignorance, for my meaning is as firm towards her Majesty, without respect of brother, as ever parent's care was towards his child ; and until I hear from you I live in this behalf. Sir, whereas my brother had one hundred pounds land in fee-simple of the old inheritance of my ancestors, and one hundred marks by my mother, I perceive that there is great and earnest means to get the same lands, or at least a lease thereof if the other cannot be obtained, and this done by my enemies, which I humbly desire your friendship to hinder their intentions ; for the patrimony now belonging to the house is not great, and if the Queen's mercy might be extended towards my brother, I trust that his behaviour should be such, and service, as by all means possible he would do to win again that which he hath justly lost ; and if it should come to me there should no man, whatsoever he were, be more forward with body life and lands to advance the Queen's Majesty's service or pleasure than I. And so shall her Majesty have of these talents God hath presently sent

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me. And thus being ashamed to trouble you in your weighty causes, I humbly take my leave. From Beamish Lodge,* my mother's house that was, this vij of June 1570.

“Your most assured cousin to command,

“H. PERCY.”

Enclosed was this draft of a letter from Sir Henry Percy to his brother :

“My Lord, the great misgovernment of your doings is such—

“First towards God whom you have in outward show professed ;

“Secondly towards your sovereign and gracious and merciful Mistress, which by your words you have affirmed devoutly to her own person, the Loyalty of your service towards her Majesty's crown and dignity, the breach whereof is much against your honour.

“Thirdly the great offence to your commonwealth and country, by the bloody spoil of a great number of poor innocent persons, which hath suffered by your means and occasion which, the simplest and meanest of the same, is not inferior unto you before the face of God, whose blood shall be required at your hands : which more troubleth my conscience than any of the rest of your facts (although the whole to be condemned utterly).

“And these your attempts most disliked by yourself in other persons, as in France and in other countries the attempts against their Prince when you have heard thereof. For then you did manifestly affirm that no subject ought to levy arms against their Prince, which

* The seat of his wife's family, the Harbottals, in Durham. See *ante*, page 3.

now is less to be excused in you, having that consideration before.

"My Lord, you know very well I am not an orator whereby I can sufficiently set forth in words your offences. But I am sorry that your doings are such as the grossest-headed man of the world may make manifest the wickedness of your acts. Wherefore I will leave further to speak of them presently, trusting that God hath given you such grace ere this that you have lamented the same.

"My Lord, now considering what miseries and plagues that God suffereth to light upon his people, and that there can be no such offence done to his Majesty but by repentance the same might be forgiven, moveth me to advise your lordship that chiefly and principally you seek favour at his hands.

"And next, in the which thing I do most condemn you for : I neither see nor can learn by what means you have sought the favour or pardon of your sovereign since your departure ; which truly, my lord, you have offended so grievously both to her own self, to the disturbance of her commonwealth and subjects, as also to her great charges and impoverishment of her people, that I am ashamed to give you my advice to seek for that which in mine own opinion is scarce pardonable.

"Nevertheless, having good proof of the unspeakable mercy of my mistress, as hath well appeared from the first of her reign, and also the motion of nature makes me, contrary to the bonds of experience discretion or reason, by these to move you by all the means you may possibly to attain unto her highness' favour : which if you will not do by all that wisdom that God hath lent you, and also by the means and use of all your friends that either will or dare attempt for you, I shall utterly renounce the part of nature that is atwixt us, as also

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condemn you for the wickedest imp that any of our race or country hath brought forth.

“Wherefore, my Lord, I require you to avoid and cast off all such Instruments as hath made you obstinate or stiff-necked to enter into these ill and ungodly actions, which I know hath not only sprung of your own self, and that the same be no means or occasion to keep you from doing the part of an humble subject, which is in this, seeking, as I have said before, by all means to attain unto the favour and mercy of the Prince : which if you do seek earnestly may by the grace of God attain to some good end : or at the least to do you no hindrance but to show your dutiful inclination towards her Majesty. I shall by all the means I can, both by friends and my own travel, prefer the sum of your request, so that I may perceive it doth come of your own mere disposition. And before I give you further advice to direct you by my opinion which way to compass this thing, I will leave until I have heard from you, and what your inclination is thereunto ; and so for that part I end.

“My Lord, as I have said before, the rightful causes that men have to condemn you both towards God, your Prince and country, yet have I, who is your sole and natural brother, occasion to burthen you also ; whose advice of long time you have had no will to follow.

“And by the uncarefulness of yourself, and your own posterity, you have left them in miserable case, not knowing either where harbour, nor yet any sustenance to have relieved them withal ; had it not been the bountiful goodness of the Queen’s Majesty, who hath graciously considered them.

“And for myself, who is as yet heir male unto your house, which every godly wise and good natural man would be careful of to preserve, you have done by your means without care thereof utterly to ruin and destroy the

same. And more : had I not lived under such a gracious mistress (as I do) my own life, by suspicion of your doings, might have been in hazard.¹

"My Lord, to be plain, had her Majesty been as willing to have executed extremity as my enemies ready to procure displeasure against me, I had tasted thereof ; and not only I but, for your cause many of your honourable and great friends had in suspicion by your means. But in us the old proverb was fulfilled, that truth sought no corners. I would you had been in the same case, for so had your doings neither have been so grievous to yourself nor heavy to your friends.

"My Lord, as I have said before, I cannot further advise you till I have tasted of your inclination, and I see it is hard means to convey any letters to you, and in drift of time may grow inconvenient. And for God's cause have good consideration of this I write unto you, and think you cannot do anything that may justly deserve the Prince's favour unless it come of her only and mere goodness. And forget not in what case you have left your four children the young ladies ; I may term them the young beggars, for so had they been had not the Prince's liberality been more than the goodness of their friends.

"And what injury you have done unto my poor children, for that it toucheth myself, I will leave unto your own remembrance.

"My Lord, I pray let no fantastical bruit make you have opinion of a future time, nor any aid, assistance, or maintenance that shall come from any other places to support the action you have entered in ; for they be but devices, and who trusteth unto them shall be deceived. And, to make an end, if that I find your lordship not

¹ Originally "myght haue hassard the same," but altered as in text.

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willing and glad to seek means to attain unto the Queen's Majesty's favour, accept and take me for one of the greatest enemies you have living, and one that shall be most glad to be employed to correct your offence, which otherwise you shall find me as natural diligent and travelsome a brother as any man shall have.

"And thus, desiring of God that you may give occasion to attain unto the Queen's mercy, as also her Majesty willing to receive the same, which shall be my daily prayer. From Beamish, the vijth of June 1570.

"H. PERCY." ¹

The studied harshness of this letter ² was probably intended to gratify Elizabeth, but must none the less have proved cold comfort to the unfortunate Earl, who, not deigning to defend himself against his brother's reproaches, now appealed to some of his former friends, claiming their intercession in his favour with the Queen:—

"My good Lord, I have contynued a long tyme not only a banisht man but also a prisoner, and glad wold seke the favor of her Majestye my sovereign. I praye your lordship to stande my good lorde and frende, not only for your furtherance for the obtaynyng of the same, but also your help with the rest of the lordes at this convencion to grante me some rasement and libertye

¹ From Original *State Papers (Domestic; Elizabeth)*, Record Office, vol. 71, Nos. 5 and 5¹. The spelling, which is very peculiar, has been modernised throughout.

² In justice to Sir Henry Percy it must be admitted that he entertained more affection for his brother than he allowed this letter to betray, for on 9th January he had written to Sussex in a very different strain, begging him to take charge of the horses belonging to the Earl, "so that if ever God in his Grace, or the Queene's Majestye in her mercy, call him back to his former estate, that he maye have the same back agayne; for there was nothing of worldlye goodes he so much esteemed."—*State Papers*.

according to such pore and humble request as I have moued the heid of this house (Henry Percy) to open unto your lordships and unto the rest. Good my lord remember my longe and tediose tyme I have been here; glad wold I have some comfortable tyme to refresh and to recreat myself for a while, until I might obtayne the Queene my sovereign's favor. I pray your lordship to think of me for the old good-will which I have borne unto you and to my Lord Greye; for it is possible I may stande you or some of yours in stead of service.

"I cannot use no great ceremonies, but referring my causwe unto your good consideracion I commyt you to Almighty God."¹

These efforts were of no avail. Indeed after the retaliation so recently inflicted upon the rank and file of the rebel army, Elizabeth could not have extended her pardon to the two principal offenders. Lady Northumberland had, however, come to an agreement with William Douglas as to the sum of money to be paid for the Earl's ransom, and finding it impossible to raise so considerable an amount in England, and having some reason to fear that her own freedom was in jeopardy, she determined to make a personal appeal to the Spanish Viceroy in the Low Countries.² Embarking at "Olde Aberdyne" with Lord Westmoreland and other of

¹ *State Papers*. This letter, dated from Lochleven on June 18th, appears to have been in the form of a circular addressed by Sussex to Cecil, Leicester, and others. The absence of all admission of culpability or expression of regret is remarkable. While he sues for the Queen's "favour," he does not once use the term "pardon."

² Lord Morley writes to the Earl of Leicester on 3rd September, 1570: "I have sought what I coulde to learne of my Lady Northumberland her dissignments, and I cannot perceive that she meant otherwise than to seke Her Majesty's favour, retyring herself out of Scotland for very Penurye; being miserably entreated there, and forced for her suertye from frende to frende without reste, fearing ever to be spoyled by those barbarous people."—*State Papers*. At the time this was written she had already crossed the seas.

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the fugitives under the protection of Lord Seaton,¹ she reached Antwerp at the end of August, having "nether penny nor half-penny,"² and at once obtained an interview with the Duke of Alva³ who, receiving her with marked consideration and courtesy, promised to use his influence with the King to provide the means for liberating the Earl. Philip, however, showed no disposition to excessive liberality, and all that Lady Northumberland could obtain was the promise of 6,000 crowns,⁴ in acknowledgment of which she writes to Alva:—

"My poverty is well known to all Catholic princes, and in fulfilment of my duty towards God, I submit without murmuring to the deprivation of my lord's company, the absence of my children, banishment from my country, and the loss of estate and property."⁵

It was not until the middle of the following year that the full amount of the ransom was forthcoming, the Pope having agreed to a further contribution of 4,000 crowns. These payments were, however, made conditional upon the production of a guarantee that they should effect their purpose, and this threw fresh difficulties in the way of the negotiations; for the Laird of Lochleven was on his part equally unwilling to relinquish his captive before the

¹ Sir Henry Cobham to Cecil, 4th September, 1570. *Cotton MSS.*

² Lord Seaton to Queen of Scots, 19th September, 1570. *Labanoff.*

³ When, at a later period, the Court of Spain remonstrated with Elizabeth for having shown undue favour to the Prince of Orange, the Queen reminded Philip of the protection he had extended to her rebellious subjects in the Low Countries: "How was it that the Countess of Northumberland was solemnly brought of late to the Duke of Alva by one of his sons, and accompanied with a great company of English rebels? and suffered to make a solemn oration to him, which was said by her and answered by the Duke, as they report to their comfort, to persist in their evil disposition?"—*State Papers.*

⁴ "Et pour autant que touche l'assistance de deniers que la dite Comtesse demande pour mettre son dit mari en liberté, [je] vous en ay aultres escript en espagnole, que [je] seroye content d'y employer jusqu'à six mille écus, selonquoy vous pouvez régler."—King of Spain to Duke of Alva, November 1570. From the *Archives des Pays Bas* in Brussels.

⁵ *Labanoff.*

price was in his possession. To him, wearied of delays and evasions, Lady Northumberland now addressed herself, using with womanly ingenuity every argument calculated to persuade or convince him—now flattering his vanity, now appealing to his sense of honour, now working upon his avarice:—

“Albeit, my lorde's frendes have been hardly browght to give eare to the sume which ys demanded, beyng so greete, and so farre beyond ther expectacyon, (my lord, his present state and condicion considered, who never weyned that such a Burthen wold have been lay'd upon him in this case thet he ys in, and therefore thought that a greate deale lesse wold have served), yet I have soe wrought yt with them as the sayme is redie to be dysburssed, upon that Assurance, as they may persave hym lyke to be sett free, and ther money not cast away. And in this respect the staye hath beyne, and hath rested off long tyme; for to adventure so moche upon your lordship's bare worde, beyng unknowne unto them (*althowghe, that the mony were myne owne, I durst boldly do it, for the good experyence of your honorable and fatheful dealing*), they cannot be brought unto; and therefor desier such assurance of your Meanyng of Performance as may occasion them not to doubt of your honore in that Behalfe. And, good my lord, think upone me one waye: that I most earnestlie wishe and desier my Husbande's freedom and lybertie, so wold I do all that I cold in the World to procure yt and bring that to pass. . . . And seyinge the matter resteth in your own powre to dispatche, and that no meanyng of neither partie (as I take yt) but honorable just and faithful, I shall besech you no longer to delay it, but soe to open yourselff unto them as, they being satysfied, a frendlye eynde may be made in this matter, you to have your money, my lorde all thir favores and kyndnes, and

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they to enjoy his Presence and Company. And so praying your lordship to consider of this my request, what hindrance this long delaye hathe bene, as well to your lordship, as to my lord in his healthe, as otherwees, and that I may resave your spedie answeere; wherby the bond of kyndnes may be so knyt betweene my lord and you, and your two Howses, as you shall have good cause hereafter to thynke your favore at this tyme well bestowed. Besiching you to give credit to this bearer, in that he hath to saye ferther in this matter, with most hearty comendacyons and thankses to my good ladie your Bedfellow, I eynde.

“A. NORTHUMBERLAND.”

Postscript. “. . . My lorde's trest is in your lordship that as you have very honorably hitherto dealt for his safetye, so you will not leave him untill he may, by your good meanes, be set free from Intertrapping or Mysadventure, that may come by Mallyce or Decepte of any that may be laed or suborned to annoy him; and may be comytted to that fortune and adventure that himselffe shall take and choise. Wherebye you shall syngularly biend us all unto you, and wynn unto yourself moch honner, commodite and proffet, and beare awaye the Glory, Lawd and Praise of that your honorable faethful and friendly intreatyng of him; which cannot be at any tyme left unremembred, whilst ether my lord, his Posterite, Kynred or Frendes, may be able to acknowledge it to you and yours.”¹

To her husband she writes on the same day and again on the day following: “Trusting that your lordship will not impute any blame towards me, if your businesse have not come to passe so sone as you wished, and myself gretlie desired; for by occasion of the greatness of the somme

¹ Countess of Northumberland to the Laird of Lochleven, Mechlin, 27th January, 1571-2. Murdin, p. 186.

and the want of sufficient assurance (as your frendes do thinke) the tyme hath been delayed, and upon that point do they yet staye. Upon better evidence of performance to pay the money, if it had been a thousande marks, or under a thousand poundes, I wold not have doubted to have procured that sune upon my credite, and to have despatched it upon the lord's bare worde; whose honorable and faithful dealing I do wel knowe and do credite;¹ but that other summe I cannot be hable to reache unto with all the labour that I can make, without further assurance; so doubtful and scrupulous are your frendes to make the adventure, and have bene so often deceived upon trust before, as they alledge. I see, therefore, none other remedye, but that you must ether procure the favor at the lord's handes to make them better assurance, as may be to their contentacion, or ells that he will take suche a summe as I shall be hable to provide upon my credite, and to give you dayes, upon bonde, with sewerties for the payment of the reste. And yet alwayes you must remayne when that is done, under his credit, for that by his frendshipp, and none other that I can perceave, must you be garded, and brought to the place where you shall desire for your most safty and assurance, for none ther is, in myne opynion, that is so hable to serve your turne in that behalfe, or to do you that pleasure, nor so justlie wold performe it, as the lord, if he wold take it in hand.

"And so I ende, commytting your good lordship to the custodie and protection of the Almyghtie, who send you perfect healtie with the enjoying of your hart's desire. From your lordship's most humble and obedient wif,

"A. N.²

"Meklin, this 27 of January, 1572."

¹ This letter was evidently intended for the eye of the Laird; not so the following one.

² Murdin, p. 187.

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"Your frends heare thinke it verey long to understand how you doe, and to heare from you, for that they have not hearde anything of you syns the departure of your men. Syns whiche tyme with mucche adoe, greate importance and charges, myne owne travell, and the travell of a nombre of others besyds, in th' ende the tenne thousande corones is obteyned, and delyvered theare, half, the 24th of this present, and the other half the 26th of the same; althoughe it is more than a yere passed syns it stode with the King's Majesty's pleasure that the sex thousande shoulde have beene paid; and more than half a yere syns His Holiness pleasede that you shold have had the four thousande. The Duke (Alva) never gave me flatte denyall, but with fayre wordes delayed me from tyme to tyme, and all upon feare lest the money shoulde be cast awaye, and your personage not delyvered or not evicted from perill, by reason of the small assurance that was perceaved to be offered for your deliverance; or the enemy enriched thereby, by reason the sum was so greate and so farre beyonde all reason, with a number of other objections that were to longe to recite. Whereunto I answered from tyme to tyme, shewing . . . wherby the fear of that perill might be removed . . . but all my allegacions and assurances, or the wordes of any of our Nacion, were smallie credited or accepted to, untill it pleased my Lord Seaton to affirme all the same, and to give his worde, whiche was taken and allowed.^{*} And for your conveyance over, and other treatie for your libertie, it is thought if your brother be there (as what to think of his being I cannot say, so many contrarye tales wee heare) that he is the fittest to advise you and to practise the same above all others;

^{*} The passages here omitted relate to the mode of transmitting the funds required for the Earl's liberation, and to the disposal of the balance.

both for that Nature dothe binde him to be carefull and circumspecte over the same, and his Wisdom and Experience is knowen most sufficient to deale therin. . . . For myne owne Parte, being but a Woman, I can do no more but pray for your good Successe and Spede, seeing the Matter is too weightie for me to give Advise upon, and too chargeable to intermeddle withal, being not able to travell therein myself; but must remaine to do as shall like you to commande, and none otherwise, and to signifie what your Frenedes Opinions are therin. Whereof Dr. Sanders by his former Letters hathe written his; and your other wisest frende¹ dothe wishe that your Remyne might be as shorte after your Inlargement as you could in those partes, for sundry respects. His Opinion is that you might with the least danger take shipping at Haberdine (Aberdeen) and passe into Denmarke, out of the whiche you have not above three days' posting into this King's countryes. Others are of Opinion that by the Erle of Morton, or the Lord's Meanes, you might be passed safelie by Thest Seas; others, likewise, by the Capten of the Castell: so as therin ther is Diversitie of Opinions, which I thought good to write.

"Likewise you may advise of all, and conclude of such as shall appeare to you most likely; for to determine it liethe in no man's head but your owne; nor none will otherwise herin say his mynde, but as an Opinion referred to your owne Choise, to accept or to leave, bicause no man will take upon him determinatlie to advise upon such an Hazarde. Many there be (as you may perceave) that have commytted themselves to that hazarde, and have passed hither by sundrye Wayes, both by Thest seas and the West, who had neither the Oportunitie of Advise, nor were hable to procure the Meane for their passage, with

¹ Probably the Lord Seaton.

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that Lykelihode of Safetie that you may have ; and yet, God be praised, not one of all hath miscarried, but have safelie arryved according to their desires. And so may you also, by His Almighty Healpe, if you commytte yourself to him, abandon all Feare, and provide, by the Advise of your Friends there, the Meane that you and they can thinke upon to be most lyke to assure you Safetie in your transporting. Wherin I thinke John Swynborne were a man for your Lordship to advise withall, and to accompany you, both bicause I am persuaded that he lovithe you dearely, is honest, wise, of good experience, and well acquainted with the Natures and Condiçons of that Contry Men, wherby he is the better hable to discern what Way or Meane is best for you to take, and with what persone you may most safeliest deale. . . .”

Of Sir Henry Percy the Countess evidently has her doubts, although these are guardedly expressed.

“Heare are so many bruits of your brother’s being and cuming away, and so many imaginacions thereupon, both by them that be wise and others, as it were good that his frends understode partlie what they might aunswer on that behalf. For myne owne parte, I am persuaded that his doengs cannot but be as is convenyent towards you, bothe bicause Nature will binde him thereunto, and that his own wealthe and welldoeng dothe stande therupon ; in the contrary whereof he can reap no benefite”

Here follow the names of certain of the adherents of the cause, who are proposed as fit persons to be despatched for the purpose of assisting the Earl in his escape from Scotland. Particular mention is made of “Dr. Knott, a Civilian, a Man of greate Gravitie and well languaged ; Mr. Fenne, Master of Arts and Preste, a Man verey eloquent, and wittie . . . and Dr. Alyn, the

most singuler Man in myne Opinion, next to Mr. Sanders, on this side the Seas; if *he* might be hadde, I thinke you could not have the choise of the like, whensoever God should send you hither. . . . I trust you do see to get into your owne handes, or into safe custodie, as much of your owne oute of England as you may procure. Michaell and Witherington, as I writ to you before, best knowethe where they are; and how nedeful it will be for you to have as much in store as you may get, being in a strange Contry, I doubt not but you will consider. For your Children, the best Meanes that I can imagine to have them transported hither, were for a sewte to be made to have them lycensed to cumme to see you, and then, being left with the Lady Hume, or somme of your other Friends, they may be transported hither, for other Meanes I can perceave none; for by the Ambassador it is not to be sought, and to escape secretlie were too greate Danger to them that hathe them in custodie, and to passe them all together I wold not wisshe, nor above two at once, whereof the eldest of all I wisshe the rather, bicause her Age is fittest to receave Instruction, and most readie to take knowledge now of the virtuous examples whiche *here* she could see and learne, and *there* doth want altogether. When it shall please God to make you readie to cume hither, besides that it is not necessarie that eny more be privy thereunto, or do accompanye you, than shalbe nedeful, so it is thought that you do not drawe eny more after you from thence until you shalbe here settled, and may judge of your owne case; but that such as you leave behinde be stayed there with good words and hoape, untill you sende backe and signifie your Pleasure what your Will is for them to do, as then by experience you shalbe hable to determyne, and take for them the Direction that shalbe least hurtful to yourself, and most for their commodite.

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"I write this other Letter to you^{*} that you may show the same to the Larde (Laird of Loughlevin) if you think it so good; and for that I heare it from France, that the Larde is perswaded that you should have from the Pope and the King 10,000 Crownes towards your Redemption; for whiche cawse he said (as I heare) he dyd exacte the more, seeing it was to cumme out of their Purses; I do all that I can to have the same perswasion pulled out of his Heade, and that he may be otherwise occasioned to thinke, when he perceavethe that the matter fallithe not furthe as he was perswaded to beleve Tho' I have no Mistrust of his Truthe, yet I thinke it not mete to have commytted the full Certentie to his Knowledge, and wold do what I could to bring the Larde to some reasonable Conditions. . . . I do not dowbte but that your Lordship will so foresee all Inconvenience in the Choise of suche as you shall take to deale for you, and in the Order of your Proceeding, as neyther your Credite that way, nor any Perill by that Meane, may falle upon you; but that you will so resolve and work as shall be most lyke to take your desired Effecte, putting awaye all Feare; and God, I trust, shall so strengthen and assist you, as you shall be hable to attayne to Thende of your desire. And touching the state of their Proceedings here. . . ."

The writer proceeds to set forth her views on the political state of affairs, according to which "England and Spayne must joyne together, and patche up an olde League, which is farre unlikely, or otherwise will burste furthe into openne Warres." The Spanish king, however, is represented as more interested in his projects relating to Ireland, than in the fate of the Scottish queen; and "when the Lord Seaton, seeing

* The letter immediately preceding.

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this wold not serve his Mistres's Turne, wold have passed to Rome and into Spayne, he cannot be licenced by this Duke (Alva), but is still kept with many good Words." France is described as being "as much divided as England is, and looked daily when it should fall out to an Inconvenience amongst them.¹ The Duke of Guise hath been here secretly with this duke two Moneths past, and it is thought that that House dothe lynke with Spayne altogether."²

"I ende with prayeng to our Lorde to be your Director, and to send you good Spede and Successe in all your Attemptes, that you may enjoy your Fredome and Libertie, and be a Comfort to a Nombre which lyve in daily expectacion of you, and pray for your Delyverance and Welfare.

"This 28th January,

"You know by whom."

A few days later the Countess despatched an emissary charged with credentials to the Earl of Morton, to negotiate the final arrangements for her husband's release.

31st
January.

"The Experience past," she writes, "which I have tried of your great Favor and Goodwill shewed to my Lorde and Husbande in this his Miserie, dothe occasion me to omitte no Tyme nor Opportunitie which shall be offered for me to write and send to your Lordship; and therefore, having the Opportunity of this Shippe passing thither, I thoughte good to dispatche this Bearer, my

¹ The St. Bartholomew Massacre took place in the following year.

² The Court of the Netherlands would at this time appear to have been a nest of intrigue and conspiracy; and Lady Northumberland, while indefatigably employed in working for her husband's liberation, was also keeping up a secret correspondence with Queen Mary of Scotland and with the Bishop of Rosse, to whom, as he subsequently deposed, she was in the habit of writing in cipher.—Murdin, p. 14.

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Lord's Servaunt, as well bicause I have heard nothing of my Lord's other Servaunts who passed before, as to hasten the Signification of your Lordship's good Pleasure and the Lards, in such Matter as I have geven to this Bearer in Creditte to declare unto you; without the whiche I am not hable to proceede as shalbe to your satisfaction and Contentacion, nor bring that to pass which is looked for at my Handes; beseching your Lordship to receave him into your Protection, and that he may, by your good Meanes, be permytted to have Accesse to my Lord and Husbande, and to returne for the better understandinge of his Pleasure, and treating of this Cause accordingly as he hathe in Charge; prayeng your good Lordship to geve Credite unto him, and that I may still fynde the Contynuance of your former Favor, wherby I acknowledge myselfe most deeplie obliged to equalle the same if ever my Power, Goodwill, and Travell may be applied to stand you in Steade, whiche shalbe ever readie to be imploied to serve your Lordship, or any of yours; hoaping that your Lordship will have that Care over my Lord, as he, and all his, may be alwayes bounde to have the like of you and yours, whiche, for my Part, I shall ever advance to my uttermost, as knowethe God, who kepe your good Lordship."*

* * *

There lived at this time in Antwerp one John Lee, reputed to be a devout Catholic and an enthusiastic adherent of the Scottish Queen, and who had cordially welcomed the English fugitives, professing his readiness to join and aid them in any enterprise calculated to promote their common cause.

Gifted with a pleasing address, a glib tongue, and

* From the Countess of Northumberland to the Earl of Morton.
"From Meklin this last of January, 1571-2." Murdin, p. 193.

a ready pen, he soon became a prominent and trusted member of their party, which he himself describes as "a lewd company of banisht English."¹ He was especially in the confidence of the Earl of Westmoreland and Lady Northumberland, who more than once made him the medium of their communications with England and Scotland, little suspecting that every word they spoke, and every line they wrote, was liable to be conveyed to the English Government. Lee was indeed one of Cecil's most astute and active spies, and each step in the negotiations for the delivery of the Earl of Northumberland was by him reported to Lord Burghley.² On the other hand, William Douglas of Lochleven showed so little reticence on the subject of his negotiations with Lady Northumberland, that Hunsdon is able to inform his court, on the Laird's authority, that "the Scotch Commissioners having made resytal of the chargis that the Lorde of Lochlevyn hath byne att with the saide Erle . . . th' Earle hath offered the Lorde of Lochlevyn 4,000 markes sterlinge to be paide presentlie to him in hande to lette hym goe."³

Meanwhile Lady Northumberland was kept in constant anxiety by rumours of her husband's surrender to the English Government :

"There was a bruit that the Earl of Northumberland

¹ John Lee to Lord Burghley, April 1571. *State Papers*.

² On 9th November, 1571, Lee writes that Seaton and Dacre are determined to free the Earl of Northumberland, and that they mean to enter the borders of England, certain of the sympathy of the northern people, and of the support of all Norfolk and Suffolk; adding that the "Earle of Shrewsbury, through some effeminate desire, is wholly addicted to the Scottish Queen." In the following April he writes that the Pope had written to the Countess of Northumberland that he would shortly send her 10,000 crowns and that "the Earl of Westmoreland has signified to me that 8,000 crowns will be paid at same time to procure the delivery of the Earl of Northumberland."—*State Papers*.

³ Lord Hunsdon to Lord Burghley, 22nd November, 1571.—*Memorials*, p. 326.

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was delyvered to Berwick, which caused Lady Northumberland to send hyther in haste to learn the truth thereof;”^{*} whereupon she writes to her husband :

“The rumoris and brutis, here geven forthe, of your Lordship’s delivery into Englande, hath trobbled many; but for myselfe, and for them that be of the wyser sorte and of more judgment, it coulde never synke into our myndes that ever any of honor or credite wolde agree to such a condicion; especiallye in that nation that have so often tasted of the love of their neighbours in cases like to yours, and that hath so often neded thereunto; or that the Larde (who is of that honor and wisdom as he is taken to be and hitherto hath showed himselfe), wolde lay upon his house or honor such a burden

“Although we are not of that mynde but that your enemyes do and will, by all ther meenes they can worke, by worde, promyse and fayne gloses, practice what they may to draw the Lard to agree unto thame, yet we stande in no dowte of him, but that he hath that consideracion over his own honor, and is of the wisdom, that he will passe over their requestes in wyse order of whom alone you are to seke your release; and that way to follow it that it may be granted with expedition; seeing we be prepared and readie to satisfie him, upon the understanding of any sufficient assurance whereby we may, upon the payment of the money, be secure to have the possession of your body.” After dwelling on the danger of further delay, “whereby mine habilitie will grow to be lesse, and your frendis wax weary,” she concludes by pointing out how advantageous it would be for the Laird of Lochleven to accept her bribe instead of trusting to any promises from the Queen of England,

^{*} John Lee to Lord Burghley, Antwerp, 18th March, 1572.—*State Papers*.

and thus "have from us his benefite, with all benevolence, favor, and commendacion." ¹ A.D. 1572

This letter, while intended to encourage the Earl, and to appeal to the honour and generosity—as well as to the interests, of Lochleven, for whose eye it was evidently written—betrays Lady Northumberland's growing apprehensions and anxiety; but, like her entire correspondence of this period, is marked by a womanly devotion, tenderness and unselfishness,² in striking contrast with the attitude of Lady Westmoreland, who—directly instrumental though she had been in the ruin of *her* husband—now reproached him with the suffering he had brought upon her and her children, endeavoured to vindicate herself at his cost, and in her repeated appeals to Queen Elizabeth consulted only her own security and comfort.³ She succeeded in obtaining the royal pardon, and in recovering a part of the forfeited lands for her own use; while the Earl remained a condemned outlaw, dependent for his daily bread on the precarious charity of the Spanish king.⁴

¹ Countess of Northumberland to her husband, 20th March, 1572.—*Original State Papers.*

² "What travail My Lady hath taken for your delivery not only do I know, who was a part of it, but all men see, because she was no longer able to work by private means, but was forced to follow the Court, and to press upon the Duke's Grace, even agaynst his will. God saw her tears and heard her prayers; but what say I? hers? He saw and heard yours, which were so earnest that they also appearede in her. . . . As you have borne yourself well in adversity, so take care not to forget the goodness of God if He send you prosperity, as I beseech Him to do."—Dr. Richard Sanders to Earl of Northumberland, Louvain, 8th January, 1572.—*Ibid.*

³ See in the *State Papers* her letter to Cecil of 23rd March, 1570, in which she prays to be admitted to the Queen's presence, "although My Lords doings are such as must abase me so to do." In a letter to her husband about the same date she urges him to submit unconditionally to the Queen's mercy (which meant to lay his head upon the block), and not to "forget the care which you ought to have of me and of my poor children, now desolate and void of help, without the clemency of the queen." There is an interesting account of the part she played in the Rebellion in the Appendix to Sharpe's *Memorials*.

⁴ The last Earl of Westmoreland of the Neville blood died in exile.

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The knowledge of the advanced stage which the negotiations for the Earl of Northumberland's liberation had now reached, served to incite Elizabeth to more active measures for obtaining his surrender.

In April, Hunsdon urges Lord Burghley to take some decided step, "because there is a time limited, whereby they thinke that either Her Majestye wyll not resolve so soon, or else wyll not gyve so moche for hym. Suerly, all thynges consydered, Her Majestye had better gyve twyce as moche than goe withowt hym. It is not for nought that the Duke of Alba maketh meenes to have hym; and though his being at liberty could do noe harme, yet it wolde not be honorable for Her Majestye to have it said that she was offered hym for so moche, and refused hym. Besydes, she will see thereby whether they will performe their promise, and it will cause them not to be so clamorous of hyr for money, having some among themselves to borrow of. If she will have hym, I wish they might be appointed to delyver hym at the Bound Road, and there receive their money. If he shuld be delyvered in any parte of Scotland there may be crafte in *D'Aubigny*. If I once receive him, I trust to make Her Majesty a good accompt of hym. His being in her handes will greatlye daunt those in Northumberland, Yorkshire, and the Byshoprycke, who live in hope of his liberty."

at a very advanced age. He led a very poor life, even to his old age depending for his daily bread upon a slender pension from the Spaniard. Meanwhile his wife flourished in affluence and favour at Elizabeth's court.

▪ The old soldier had not always been of this opinion, for immediately after the suppression of the Rising (29th December, 1569) he had written to warn Cecil of the difficulty which, in the event of the Earl's capture or surrender, would attend his passage through his own territories:—

"It may be that whosoever hath the karryage of him shall have somewhat to doo to brynge hym threw Northumberland, for he must be karyed threw all his owne tenents, them that loves hym better than they doo the queen."—*State Papers*.

Nor was it long, as will be seen, after Lord Hunsdon was charged with the custody of the Earl, before he recognised the full force of the danger he here indicates.

The Regent Mar had now the option of allowing Lochleven to accept Lady Northumberland's proffered bribe, and of conniving at the Earl's escape, at the risk of Elizabeth's displeasure, or of delivering him to England for a pecuniary consideration, at the cost of the national good faith and his own personal honour. He chose the latter course, making it a condition that, to save appearances, a formal demand should be addressed to the Scottish Government for the surrender of his prisoner in compliance with treaty obligations¹ (which did not exist), and expressing a wish that he might receive an assurance that the Earl's life would be spared, which request the English Commissioners might evade by pleading the want of instructions.

The price being agreed upon, however, the same want of confidence which the Duke of Alva and the papal agent in the low countries had displayed towards the Laird of Lochleven,—the same determination not to part with the ransom from one hand until they held their prize in the other,—now manifested itself between the English and Scotch Governments, who, having for months past haggled over the precise amount of blood-money, could not trust one another's honesty to carry out the disgraceful bargain.²

¹ What the Earl of Mar thus did for a paltry bribe of £2,000, the Scottish Queen, to her honour, refused to do to regain her liberty and her throne. In October 1570 Elizabeth had caused a treaty to be drawn up, on the full ratification of which by Mary she was to be liberated and restored to her kingdom. One of the articles, however, to which she resolutely declined to agree was the surrender of the Earl of Northumberland and the other rebels. She was willing to admit an extradition clause for the future, but "she cannot thinke that it maye stande with her honour to delyver these who are come for refuge within her cuntry, as it were to enter them in place of execution."—Haynes, p. 609.

² "They mean to delyver hym very shortlie, but will not delyver him without the money."—Hunsdon to Burghley, April, 1572, *State Papers*. Even after the money had been paid, the recipients quarrelled and fought among themselves over their respective shares, like thieves over

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It was not till early in June that the surrender actually took place: "yesternight came thyther unto me the Larde of Cleishe, who had delt with me hertofore about the Erle of Northumberland, who declared too mee that he had brought the saide Erle to Coldingham,¹ and was come to know what tyme I would receve hym thys daye at Aymouthe, as also, bycause it would be tedyous to have the money towld there, that he myght tell it here and seale it upp, and so upon the receyving of the Erle too delyver the money . . . Upon the recepte of hym, I delyvered the money and browght him to this town . . . I have had no greate talk with hym, but trewly he seems to follow his old humors, reddyer to talk of hawks and hounds than anything els, very much abasht and sorrowful, and beyng in grete feere of his lyfe, and yett reddyer to talke of these vayne matters than otherwyse . . . I wold be glad to knowe how I should ease hym, and wold fayne be quigly delyvered of him, yf ytt will please Her Majesty that I shall bring hym upp."²

It had originally been intended to send the prisoner to London in charge of Mr. Vaughan, a member of the Council of the North, but Lord Hunsdon wrote to remonstrate against this duty being intrusted to any one but himself:

"Your Maiestie maye doe your pleasor, but sewrly yt

their plunder. The Laird of Lochleven's claim of £1,000 for his expenses in maintaining his prisoner was now disputed, and apparently with some reason, since the Earl stated that he "never stood him in £200 no kind of way," and that while in his custody he had "seldom or ever had a morsel of good meat."—See Lord Hunsdon's letter to Lord Burghley, June 7th, 1572. *State Papers*.

¹ The Earl had been embarked on the pretence that his host wished to relieve the tedium of his imprisonment by a shooting expedition, and for his share in this piece of treachery "the Laird of Claish, who only by his great travail brought the Erle so quietly hither" (to Berwick) demanded £100.—*Ibid*.

² Lord Hunsdon to Lord Burghley.—*Ibid*.

wyll touch meyne credytt to have any other man bryng him upp." ¹

To hold the Earl a prisoner in the heart of his own territories and among his most attached tenants, was, however, a far more arduous duty than escorting him to London, as Lord Hunsdon soon discovered, for shortly after he writes :—

"I look howrly for a discharge of the Erle, of whom I am right weary ; for I assure your Lordship I have slept few quiet sleeps since I had hym ; for as there is no strong or safe howse to keepe him in, *I am faine to keepe watch and warde round the howse day and night.*"

And again more urgently a few days later :—

"I wonder no order is taken for the Earl of Northumberland ; pray have him sent somewhere else. *I dare not undertake to keep him here ;* so if he happen to escape, it cannot be said that I have not warned you. I am afraid some of my unfriends procure his abode here, to procure me displeasure if he escape." ²

The outcry on the Earl's surrender was loud and fierce on both sides of the border ; and found its main expression in the only form that the popular voice could then use with much effect : the ballad, which, sung from door to door by village minstrels, ever served to keep agitation alive, and in which public opinion now found a vent for anger and detestation at so gross a breach of good faith and hospitality."

One Singleton, who describes himself as "a Gentleman of Lancashire, now prisoner at York for religion," thus denounces the act :

"The noblest Lorde of Percie kinde
Of honours and possessions faire,
As God to him the place assigned,
To Scottish grounde made his repaire ;
Who after promise manifold
Was last betraied for Englishe Gold.

¹ *State Papers.*

² *Ibid.*

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—

"Who shall hereafter trust a Scot?
Or who will doe that nation good?
That so themselves doe stayne and blott
In selling of such noble blood?
Let lordes of this a mirror make,
And in distresse that lande forsake!

"Their Lordes and Limmours are forlorne,
Their people curst of each degree;
Their faith and promise all too torne
And rumor rings it to the sky,
How they for money sold their guest
Unto the shambles like a beast!

"The Percies' stocke an ancient foe
To Scottish Lowndes in felde,
Yet did he still relieve their woe
If once the man did yelde
Unto his prince, and countrie praise,
As noblemen have noble ways!"¹
.

Another English writer, though professing to be no friend of the Earl, or of any "rebel or papist," reproaches Scotland with her shame in a long series of verses, of which this is one:—

"Fy on thee, Scotland, and thy seed,
Abone all realmes woe thee befall!
Thy lordes have done so shameful deid,
That traytours ay men will you call.
You are so gredie on English gold
That all your credit now is sold!"

To which a Scotch poet replies, and, while denouncing the actual offenders with a fire of invective and scornful eloquence of a high order, pleads to exonerate the nation from all share of complicity in so foul an act:—

"Alace! that ever Scotland should have bred
Sic to its ain dishonour, schame and greif;
That qu'hen ane nobilman was thereto fled,
At neid to seik some succour and releif,

¹ The original document is preserved in the British Museum, *Cotton MSS.*, Calig. B. iv. 243. There is a copy among the *Alnwick MSS.*

THE SURRENDER DENOUNCED.

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Sould have been coulpit twyse ! First, be ane theif ;
Then be Lochlevin, quho did three yeir him keip,
Quho gat greit gaine to save him for mischief,
Syne sould him to the skambils lyke ane sheip !

“ That loving lord, so voyde of all dispyte,
Of vertews having sic pluralitie ;
In honest pastyme takand his delyte,
With manye rare and princelie qualitie ;
So nobil port, and liberalitie ;
Sic hardiness, and hairt heroical,
Deservit rather immortalitie,
Than to have had ane end so tragical !

Yet for your mischeant and mischevous deid
This countrys ough not for to beer the blame.”¹
.

Another anonymous apologist for the Scottish people,
says in his answer to the English ballad :—

“ Although some traitours be amang us
In blaming all forsuith ye wrang us.
Thoch sum have playit Judas’ pairt
In selling gud Northumberland,
Quhy suld *they* thoill for their desert
That faine would have that fact withstand ?
Or yet the country bear the blame ?
Let them that sould him have the shame !

“ Mar, and the devilishe Douglassis,
And namely Morton and Lochlevin ;
M’Gill and Orkney, Scottish assis,
And Cleishe, quhunto the gold was given.
Dumferling, that the Py prepared,
And lowsé Lindsay, quho was his guairde.”

Two ballads long popular on the borders, “ *The Rising in the North* ” and “ *Northumberland betrayed by*

¹ This and the preceding ballad will be found in Pinkerton’s collection, under the head of *Poems by Unknawin Makars* ; but the latter is attributed to John Maitland, Lord Thirlstone, a son of the Sir Richard Maitland, whose ballads (thanks to the learned Bishop of Dromore, who discovered them in MS. and published them) deservedly hold a very high place in Scottish minstrelsy.

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Douglas,¹ were evidently composed very shortly after the events they describe :—

“When he had in Lough-leven been
Many a month and many a day,
To the Regent² the Lord Warden³ sent,
That banisht Earle for to betray.

“He offered him great store of gold,
And wrote a letter fair to see,
Saying, Good My Lord, grant me my boon,
And yield that banisht man to me!”

The ballad proceeds to relate how Morton's sister warned the Earl against the meditated treachery, who (and this trait is characteristic of his simple and confiding nature) cannot bring himself to think so ill of his host :—

“Now nay, now nay, thou goodly lady,
The Regent is a noble lord;
Ne for the gold in all Engländer,
The Douglas wold not break his word.

“When the Regent was a banisht man,
With me he did faire welcome find;
And whether weal or woe betide,
I still shall find him true and kind.”

.

¹ *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, vol. i.

² In his commentary on this ballad the editor of the *Reliques* names James Douglas, Earl of Morton, as the Regent; Morton however did not succeed to the Regency until several months after the Earl of Northumberland's surrender, though, in concert with his cousin of Lochleven, he appears to have taken a prominent part in bringing it about, and shared in the blood-money. The dishonour of the official act rests with the then Regent, the Earl of Mar, whom Richard Maitland addresses :

“Fie on thee, Mar! that ever thou consentit
Ane nobleman so basely to dissave!

Judas, that sould our Saviour to be slaine,
Ane vyler draucht nor thou did never draw.”

—Pinkerton's *Maitland MSS.*

³ Lord Hunsdon.

"And now that I a banisht man
Should bring such evil happe with mee,
To cause my faire and noble friendes
To be suspect of treacherie."¹

"This rives my heart with double woe;
And lever had I dye this day
Than thinke a Douglas can be false,
Or ever will his guest betray."

A shooting party being then arranged, under pretence of which the Earl was taken off in a boat :

"When they had sailed other fifty mile,
Other fifty mile upon the see,
They landed him; at Berwick towne
The Douglas landed Lord Percie."

No sooner had the unfortunate Northumberland been delivered into Lord Hunsdon's custody at Berwick, than the Queen gave orders for his execution. Two days later, however, a respite was granted, "whereof," says Hunsdon, "I am not sorry, for trewly though he have fully by law deserved to dye, yet, consydering *what loss Her Majesty shall receive by his deathe*, and the syrcumstances how he was brought to the same, Her Majesty hath and doth show as great mercy to a number that as well deserved to dye as he, *without any benefyt to kyr.*"²

Whether Elizabeth felt the force of this argument,

¹ Morton's complicity in the surrender was the more culpable from the fact of his having enjoyed the Earl's protection and hospitality when himself a political fugitive in England; a circumstance to which Camden refers with the remark: "*Sed quis calamitosis gratus repertus?*"—*Annales*, ii. p. 269. The historian Robertson makes some attempt to extenuate the baseness of the surrender on the ground that Morton's party depended upon Elizabeth for protection; but he admits that "as a sum of money was paid on that account and shared between Morton and William Douglas, the former of whom, during his exile in England, had been much indebted to Northumberland's friendship, the abandoning this unhappy nobleman to inevitable destruction was deemed an ungrateful and mercenary act."—*History of Scotland*.

² Hunsdon to Lord Burghley, 1st May, 1572.—*State Papers*.

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or that, as in other cases, she wished to make a show of reluctance before consigning to the scaffold one who had many powerful friends and adherents, the execution was again deferred; and in the meantime Hunsdon was instructed to induce the Earl to make a full confession, the means for obtaining which are pretty plainly hinted at by Elizabeth in this characteristic letter:

"In the dealyng herein you may use such speeches as may justly terrify him with all extremitie of punishment if he shall conceal anything; and sometymes, as you may see cawse, you may *also comfort him with some hope, so it be not in our name*, nor by us warranted, if he will utter the truth of every person, without regard to any whatsoever they be, though he may think they be in place of credite. As for any *chargeable entertaynment of his in his diet we lyke not, consydering him as a person attaynted; by over tender usage he may gather comfort to persist in denyal of things to his knowledge.*"¹

With this letter Hunsdon received a series of interrogatories on a variety of matters connected with the late rebellion to which he was instructed to obtain the Earl's replies.

"I receyved your packet of the 5th, whereyn was the articles to examyne the Erle of Northumberland; according to the which I went too hym, and took Mr. Treasurer with me, and examined hym but of the one halfe of them, as though ther had byn no more; whereunto he seemed to be very fearful to answer. Not butt that he was very wylling to answer trewly to them, but by cawse he should make so slender answer to many of

¹ Queen Elizabeth to Lord Hunsdon, 5th June, 1572, *State Papers*. The Earl's position at this time was pitiable enough. On his arrival at Berwick he had no money, and no clothes but the worn-out suit in which he stood. A charge of £12 for providing him with clothing is included in Sir Valentine Browne's Secret Service accounts for this period. See *State Papers*.

them as those he answered trewly. Yett I wold hardly beleve hym, so with many syrcumstancys he answered them, which having answered he requyred me presentlye, as hys memory is short and that he wold not wyllingly consele anythyng unutteryd, that I wold leve them with hym that nyght, and lycence hym to have paper and ynke, which I dyd.

"Trewly, my lord, he seemes to be very wylling to Her Majestie yn everything he can; and yf hys confessyon be trew the rebellyon was one of the strangest matters that hath byn herd of; and pryncypelly procure by old Norton and Markynyfeld, and earnestlye followed by the two wyves, the Countessys.¹ Good my Lord, as sune as you receve the Erles anser, procure my delyverence of hym, that I may rid my handes of hym to anybody else, and it shall be needful that he shall be safely sent up, for he hath many frendes by the way."²

On the following day he writes :—

"I think the Erle hath answered trewthfully. He doth greatlye excuse my Lord of Westmoreland, and sayeth plainlye that they could never gett howld of hym tyll the last owre, and that by procurement of hys wyfe who was more vehement thereyn than any other. I assure your Majestye *I dyd never thynke hym so sympell as now I fynde hym*, and yf his confessyon ys trew, he was greatlye urged to yt by others; and yett *yn this whole matter he excusyth Westmoreland more than hymselfe.*"³

Sir Valentine Browne, in whose house the Earl had

¹ As before stated the Earl attributed a large share in rebellion to the influence of the Countess of Westmoreland; but it is difficult to understand upon what grounds Lord Hunsdon asserts him to have implicated his own wife, for throughout his depositions and his correspondence not one word capable of bearing such a construction can be found.

² Hunsdon to Burghley, 12th June, 1572, *Original State Papers*.

³ *Ibid.*

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been lodged on his first arrival at Berwick, says that he was "nothing altered from his old opynions (the Catholic faith), which he wolde persuade to be taken for the cawse of the rebellion," and Hunsdon reports him as "more than ever obstinate in relygion."

Indeed, from his reply to one of the interrogatories, it would appear that so far from being disposed to recant he gloried in the profession of his attachment to the proscribed faith, declaring that their first object in assembling was "for the reformation of relygion, and for the preservation of the second person, the Queen of Scotts, whom we accompted by God's lawe and man's lawe, to be right heire if want should be of issue of the Queen's Majestie's body; which two cawses I made full accompt was greatlye favoured by the most part of noble-men within this realme, especially for God's true religion. I was in hope (although I had little for me) both the Erle of Leycester and my lorde Burleigh had beene blesst with some godly inspiracion by this tyme of the daye to discern cheese from chalke; the matters being so evidently discoussed by the learned divines of thys our tyme, and they that had swaye about the prince, and especyally my Lord of Burleigh, who is indued with so syngular a judgment. And now finding myself deceved of that expectacion, I can noe more doe but shall praye faythefully to Almyghtie God to indue Her Highnes and them with His grace, that they may knowe hym and feare hym aright."

Lord Hunsdon, although he had zealously worked for the Earl's surrender by the Scots, fearing the effect of his escape to the Continent, had from the first opposed the infliction of the extreme penalty, and now lost no opportunity of urging upon Elizabeth the advantages she might attain

by extending mercy in this case. For some time the Queen's habitual irresolution in such cases¹ served to raise his hopes, but these were now dashed by a letter from Burghley, the reply to which affords an honourable testimony to the old soldier's character :

"My very good Lord,—Thys day syttyng downe to dynyr, having dyspatcht a pakket, not past an owre befor, I receyved your Lordship's pakket of 8th, *whyche gave me my dynyr*; fyndyng myselfe hardlye delt withall to be a carryer of any nobelman to executyon yntoo a place wherein I have nothyng to do. My charge ys butt in thys towne and the Este Wardenry, and therefore for mee to be putt to bryng him to York to be executed, I can neyther thynke that hyr Majestie deales wyth mee thereyn, nor that I have anye suche frends abowt Her Majestie as I accounted of; and *sewrlly I wyll rather suffer sum ynprysonment than doo yt*. Sir John Forster hathe bothe the comodity and proffytt of all hys landes yn Northumberland, and he is fytttest to have the carryage of hym to York, and *I wyll delyver hym safely att Alnwyck, butt no farther, by my wyll*. Therefore, my Lord, as ever I may thynke ye beere me any good wyll, or that Her Majestie hath any consyderacyon of mee, lett some othar be appoynted to receve hym of mee eyther at Alnwyck or Newcastle. And so assuryng your lordship that though the wrytt came to me, I wyll not styrrre hens wyth hym untyl I have answer from your lordship agayne."

The condemned Earl had still one untiring friend, who now made a last effort to save him. John Lee writes :

"My lady Northumberland has never believed in the

¹ According to Fenelon, Elizabeth had signed and revoked four warrants for Norfolk's execution before allowing sentence to pass. Her irresolution in the case of Mary Stuart's death warrant is notorious.

² Hunsdon to Lord Burghley, Berwick, 11th July, 1572, *State Papers*.

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delyvery of the Erle; but now some are of opynyon that she will goe into some monastery, but others that she will practice notwithstanding, as opportunitye shall serve."

And in a subsequent letter he states that she had actually gone into a convent after having vainly implored the French King to intercede for her husband's life.¹

Lady Northumberland had in fact moved for such intercession both in France and Spain, where she had a right to look for sympathy and support, on behalf of one who had suffered in a cause which the rulers of those states had professed to have warmly at heart. At this hour, however, it did not fall in with the plans of either Philip or Louis to display interest in the chiefs of an abortive rebellion; and nothing but Elizabeth's affected scruples now stood between Northumberland and the scaffold.

"I was readye this morning," writes Hunsdon, "to delyver the Erle to Sir John Forster according to an appoyntment, but receved the Queene's Majestie's letter to staye hym at my dyscrecion, untyll I heerde from hyr ageyne. If he went this nyght to Alnwyck he wold be in York on Tuesday, and so either the next day or Thursday executed; and then too late to staye yt, though Her Majestie myght be content to defer yt. But if she continues in hyr resolution then it shall be presentlye fulfilled upon worde agayne from hyr. . . . I have sought to prolong the execution to have Her Majestie understande his brothers doings, for suerly if Henry Percy's affection towards the Scottish Queene, and hys other dealings towards her Majestie, be suche as is

¹ John Lee to Lord Burghley, 13th June and 14th July, 1572, *State Papers*. The king declined to interfere unless the Earl should first unconditionally submit himself to his sovereign's mercy.

comonlye spoken,¹ Her Majestie would doe hyrselfe a worse turne by setting upp the one than by keepinge the other alyve. Besydes *she wyll have the benefitt of his lycyng*, and as many as have any gyfte of hyr, or anythyng of hys, may pycke a salade."²

For some weeks longer the poor Earl's life seemed to hang in the balance; twice had Elizabeth named the day for his execution, and each time was the order countermanded. But now the curtain fell upon the last act of the Rising in the North.

On the 17th August Hunsdon delivered his prisoner to Sir John Forster at Alnwick, who conducted him to York, by slow stages,³ under a strong mounted escort. A scaffold had been erected in *the Pavement*,⁴ and there, on the 22nd August, Thomas Percy met his death with calm courage and dignity.

"Remember," he said, when about to lay his head upon the block, "that I die in the Communion of the Catholic Church, and that I am a Percy in life and in death."⁵

Sir Thomas Gargrave writes to Lord Burghley on the day after the execution :

"So farre as may appere by any talk or doyings of the late Erle of Northumberland, at or befor his dethe, he contynued obstynate in relygion, and declared he wold dye

¹ Sir Henry Percy was at this time a prisoner in the Tower on charges of complicity in a plot to liberate the Scottish queen.

² Lord Hunsdon to Lord Burghley, 9th August, 1572, *State Papers*.

³ The journey occupied four days, as appears from a "Note of the charges of Sir John Forster for post horses, in conveying the late Earl of Northumberland from Alnwick to York, 18th to 21st August, and returning with his company, 23rd to 25th August, £154 11s. 4d."—*Memorials*.

⁴ Then the great market-place, in which the pillory stood.

⁵ Beckwith, in his *MS. History of York*, quoted in the *Memorials*, states that the head was struck off with one blow of a broad carpenter's axe. According to others, however, a drunken executioner "chopped at him for half an hour with a blunt carpenter's axe."—See *Historical Portraits of the Tudor Dynasty*, by S. H. Burke.

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a Catholyke of the Pope's Church. He accompted his offence nothyng, and especyally after he knew he shold dye; but before, he seemyd to confesse he had offendyd, and wold qualyfy yt, sayyng he dyd that he dyd by compulsion, and for feere of his lyffe. He confessyd he was reconcyld to the Pope; he affermyd this realme was in a scysme, and that all were sysmatykes. He said here was nether pitye nor mercye. In his talke with dyvers he namyd hymselfe 'Symple Thome,' and sayd '*Symple Thome must dye, to sett vp crewell Henry.*'¹ At his dethe he wysshed his brother to be of his relygyon, and that, if he had hys lyvyng, he trysted he wold pay his dettes and helpe his chyl dren and servantes. He dyd not here either pray for the Queene's Majestie, nor even wysshed her well, nor yet wold confesse he had offendyd Her Majestie, whereat many was offendyd and thought he had no deutyfull consideration of her Ma^{tie}; and on the other syde, the styf-neckyd papystes rejoyced moche of his stedfastnes in their crede of popyshe relygyon."²

The Earl's head was set on a high pole above Mickle-gate Bar,³ but his body was saved from the indignity

¹ Thomas Wright, in his *Queen Elizabeth and Her Times* (vol. i. p. 439), following some of the old historians, makes the Earl say not "cruel Henry," but "cruel Heresy." This version is also given in a popular work, *Knight's Pictorial History of England* (London, 1847). Other writers make the Earl describe his brother as "cunning" Henry, perhaps the more appropriate term, besides conveying antithetic point; but the report of the sheriff who superintended the execution may be assumed to be the more accurate.

² Cott. MSS. Calig. C. iii. Fol. 394. Oldmixon says that the Earl was "very obstinate in his last speeches and moments. He asserted the Pope's supremacy, denied subjection to the queen, his lawful sovran, and affirmed the nation to be in a schism, or rather heresy, for he called all her leige subjects heretycks." The Spanish Ambassador reported to his Government that the Earl had said upon the scaffold that if he had a thousand lives he would give them all for the Catholic faith in which he died.—*Apuntamientos para la historia del Rey, Don Felipe Segundo de España*, p. 128.

³ According to popular rumour the head had been removed during the

of mutilation by the intercession of some influential citizens of York, who caused it to be laid in Crux Church, "no one attending the funeral save two men and three maid domestics, and a stranger in disguise, who, causing suspicyon, immediately fled." A.D. 1572

No memorial marks the grave of the seventh Earl of Northumberland, and the only local record of his death is contained in this entry in the parish register of St. Margaret's, Walmgate, York, for the year 1572 :—

DOMINUS PERCY DECOLLATUS ERAT
XXII. DIE AUGUSTI.

The Scottish Queen had given a strong proof of her grateful appreciation of the services which the Earl of Northumberland had rendered in her cause, by a gift which to her must have been of inestimable value. This was a relic purporting to be a thorn of the crown which the Jews had in mockery placed on the Saviour's brow. The Earl had worn it, mounted in a golden cross,

night in fulfilment of a prophecy made many years before by Mother Shipton, who had said to him : "My Lord, shoot your horse in the quicke and you shall do well ; but your bodie will be buried in Yorke pavement, and your head shall be stolne from the Barre, and carried into France."

If the date of this prophecy be correctly given, however, it must have been addressed not to the seventh, but to his uncle, the sixth, Earl, who, before his accession, had been sent by Wolsey to have his fortune told by Mother Shipton. See a pamphlet in the British Museum entitled "The Prophetie of Mother Shipton in the reigne of Henry the Eighth, foretelling the death of Cardinal Wolsey, the *Lord Percy* and others, as also what should happen in suing times."—"London, printed for Richard Lownds, in his shop adjoining to Ludgate, 1641."

The author or editor of the pamphlet (which is in the collection presented to the British Museum by King George the Third) was apparently under the impression that it was Wolsey's pupil who had been executed at York. The seventh Earl was never called "Lord Percy." Those who prophesy after the event should be very careful in the matter of names and dates.

¹ Beckwith's *MS. History of York*.

A.D.
1528-1572

around his neck to the day of his death, when he bequeathed it to his eldest daughter Elizabeth.¹

The relic is now at Stonyhurst College,² enclosed in a golden casket bearing this inscription :—

"Hæc spina de Corona Domini Sancta fuit primo Mariæ Reginae Scotia, Martyris, et ab ea data Comiti Northumbriæ, Martyri, qui in morte missit illam filie suæ, Elizabethæ, quæ dedit societati."

* * *

The widowed Countess of Northumberland survived her husband for nearly twenty years—wearied and lonely years of exile and poverty ;³ parted from her children, forgotten or ignored by the many friends of earlier days, but still zealous in the cause to which her worldly hopes and happiness had been sacrificed. While residing at Liège she was in constant communication with Queen Mary, and had exerted herself to bring about a marriage between her and Don John of Austria.⁴

¹ She in her turn gave, or bequeathed, it to the Jesuit Father Gerard, who says :

"At this time I had given me some very fine relics which my friend set for me very richly. Among these was an entire thorn of the Holy Crown of our Lord, which the Queen of Scots had brought with her from France (where the whole Crown is kept), and had given to the Earl of Northumberland, who was afterwards martyred. He always used to carry it in a golden cross about his neck as long as he lived, and at his death made it over to his daughter."—*Life of Father Gerard, some time Superior of Stonyhurst.* London : Burns and Oates, 1881.

² The present rector, the Rev. W. H. Fyfe, has in reply to my inquiries on the subject courteously furnished me with a photograph of the relic.

³ Her only means of subsistence were derived from a small pension, very irregularly paid, from the King of Spain, and out of this she maintained several poor ladies who had followed her into exile. In a memorandum in the handwriting of Lord Burghley, dated in 1590, and relating to the English recipients of foreign pensions we read, "The Countess of Northumberland, furiously mad, hath 100 crowns a month at Namur."—*State Papers.*

⁴ "The Jesuit Nicholas Saunders assured the King of Spain that he had the authority of Queen Mary's most confidential advisers, Sir F. Englefield and the Countess of Northumberland, for saying that she was



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RELIQUARY OF THE HOLY THORN.

The English Government was kept well informed of her doings. In 1573 Lee describes her as "one of the principal practicers at Mechlin," and another of Burghley's agents reports :—

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1572-1591

"The rebells hold counsell at the howse of the Countess of Northumberland in Brussells, and many bad wordes they speke of your lordship, as that you are a heretyck, and that it was a grete pittie that Paulus Quintus did not burn you when you was in prison, and some had vowed to shorten your dayes. I have shown the Government of this lady's assemblies and practices, and travailled very much to find out the author of that lewde book against your lordship. The Countess of Northumberland hath given £100 for the printing, and one Heighgates, secretary to her late husband, collected the book after divers persons had done their mind in writing¹. . . . The Countess is a bad woman in every way, and has spoken very lewdly of your lordship, avowing that in that collection there is nothing but truth and that if she might speak of it to the Queen she might tell wonders."²

A few scattered and destitute refugees plotting for the restoration of the Church of Rome and the Scottish Queen could hardly have been considered a source of danger to the English Government; yet Lord Burghley

extremely well affected towards Don John of Austria," . . . with whom the Countess was stated to have been in frequent communication, being "supposed to be the channel through which the prayers and complaints of the captive Queen of Scots reached his willing ears."—*Don John of Austria*, by Sir William Stirling Maxwell, vol. ii. pp. 23 and 208.

¹ This refers to a work published in Paris under the title of *Discours des Troubles du Comte de Northumberland*, composed in the interests of the Catholics, and purporting to reveal the true causes of the Northern Rebellion. It is written in a very violent spirit, but from the fact that Lord Burghley thought it necessary to circulate a laboured reply, it may be presumed to have produced some effect.

² Dr. Wilson to Lord Burghley. *State Papers*.

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lost no opportunity of persecuting these unhappy people, even now that they were beyond his jurisdiction. The English ambassador at the French court was more than once instructed to remonstrate against the protection afforded to the disaffected English in Paris; and in 1576 Dr. Wilson informs his chief that he had succeeded in prevailing upon the Spanish Government to expel Lady Northumberland and other refugees from Brussels at fifteen days' warning, "which all did take very heavily as a thing unlooked for."¹

But adversity only served to stimulate this indomitable woman to fresh efforts, and no failure or misfortune could discourage her. She lived to see another Catholic plot in England organised and defeated; her husband's brother, to whom, personally, she owed little enough, but who now represented the cause she had at heart, murdered, as was believed, by her enemies; the Scottish Queen, in whose life and freedom her dearest hopes were bound, die on the scaffold; the faith for which she would herself have died more than ever persecuted; and still she worked and plotted and hoped, till, attacked by the fatal epidemic of that time, her troubled life ended in a convent near Namur in 1591.

Charles Paget, then himself a refugee at Antwerp, writes: "I want meenes to signify to Lady Jane Percy that her mother, the Countess of Northumberland, died fourteen days ago of the small-pox, and has left jewels and goods behind worth having; and to advise her to come over soone, for unlesse she is present she cannot enjoy them, and besides, she may procure the discounts² of her mother, which arise to two thousand crowns of gold. I must not be known to have advysed this, nor

¹ *State Papers.*

² This would appear to refer to the arrears of the Spanish pension, which had always been very irregularly paid.

with having intelligence with her ; but hearing that she is not in the best state for wealthe, she would be unwise to lose this commodity.”¹

A.D.
1572-1591

Four daughters² had survived the unfortunate Earl of Northumberland, of whom Elizabeth, the eldest, married Richard Woodruffe of Wolley, in Yorkshire.

Mary, after her mother's death, founded and became Prioress of the Convent of English Benedictine Dames at Brussels, a community which subsequently removed to Winchester.

Lucy became the wife of Sir Edward Stanley of Eynsham, Oxon, a brother of the Earl of Derby,³ and Jane, the youngest daughter, of Lord Henry Seymour, a younger son of Edward, Earl of Hertford.

¹ Charles Paget to Giles Martin, London, 23rd September, 1591, *State Papers*.

² One son had died in infancy, and was buried at Leconfield, 18th August, 1560.

³ Two daughters, Frances and Venetia, were born of this marriage, who respectively married Sir John Fortescue of Salden, and Sir Kenelm Digby. It was the younger daughter to whom Ben Jonson thus refers in his *Euphemia* :

“I sing the just and uncontrolled descent
Of Dame Venetia Digby, styled the fair.
In mind and body the most excellent
That ever nature or the latter air
Gave two such Houses as Northumberland
And Stanley,—to the which she was co-heir.”



CHAPTER XI.

Henry Percy, Eighth Earl of Northumberland.

Born at Newburn Manor, *circa* 1532.

Acceded, 1576.

Died in the Tower, June 21, 1585.

*Contemporary
English Sovereigns.*

Henry VIII.

Edward VI.

Mary.

Elizabeth.

A D.
1532-1585
—



LEAVING out of account the martial spirit which had been the common inheritance of the two brothers it would not be easy to draw a stronger contrast than is presented by the characters of "Simple Tom" and "Cruel Henry."

In the one we see a generous, affectionate and earnest nature ; guileless and confiding, but devoid of judgment ; easily influenced by stronger minds, and at once irresolute and obstinate.

The other was a man of powerful will and clear intellect ; ambitious in his aims, unscrupulous in his means : with a cold heart, and a pliant conscience. Calculating and self-seeking, yet ever prone to sacrifice his personal

interests to the impulses of momentary sympathy or A.D. 1557
resentment.

As skilful in diplomacy as he was daring in warlike operations, Queen Mary had, while he was yet in his minority, employed Sir Henry Percy¹ in both capacities, and rewarded his services by the important governorship of Tynemouth Castle.

The military assistance which the King of France now rendered to Scotland had aggravated the lawless condition of the Border population, which Sir Henry Percy was engaged in repressing and chastising.

On 6th August, 1557, he writes from Alnwick to the Earl of Shrewsbury, then President of the Council of the North :

"I perceive your both Lordships [Shrewsbury and Westmoreland] to accept my repair to this country of Northumberland in such good part, as I have cause to rejoice thereof; and further, to be desirous to know the occurrents from time to time happening in these parts. It may please your good Lordship to understand, that upon my repair to Alnwick, the last of July past, sundry gentlemen of this country, with many other honest men of the same, repaired thither unto me; with whom I continually travelled untill Wednesday at night last in such sort as we were suffered to take very small rest, either by night or day: but by the more part of nights and days on horseback, attended the invasion of the enemy. And for the better resistance thereof, I placed myself and my company nigh to the frontiers, as at Eslington and other places thereabout. And yesterday, being the fifth of this instant, about five of the clock in the morning, the Lord James and Lord Robert, the late Scottish King's bastard sons, Lord Home, and others

¹ There is no record to establish when knighthood had been conferred upon him.

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of Scotland, with all the power they could make in three days assembly of men from Edinburgh hitherwards, and with certain pieces of ordnance, did invade on the East march of this realm; minding, as I learned by credible intelligence, to have attempted to win the castle of Ford and have burnt sundry towns thereabouts, called the 'Ten Towns of Glendale;' which their purpose, upon my repair towards them, with a good number of gentlemen, and others of this country, they did quite alter and change: And after they had burnt a house or two in the town of Fenton [where was taken, and wounded to death as is supposed, one of their best borderers and guides, Richard Davyson], did, with great haste and more fear (as by plucking off, and leaving a great number of white crosses, and the small spoil, or prey of cattle by them seized, did appear) departe home into Scotland, before we could in order come to them. Which considered (by the discreet advice of the gentlemen whose good conformity and forwardness in service, I cannot but of good cause much earnestly commend unto your Lordship; whom I shall much humbly beseech further, to commend and advance the same, upon this my just report, as may tend to their more encouragement of service hereafter) I did enterprise to invade the country of the Merse¹ in Scotland, where was burnt sixteen towns, and won a booty, or spoil, of two hundred four score neat, and 1000 sheep, besides many horses, and some prisoners."²

The merciless and destructive character of these raids is indicated in this letter from Henry Percy to his brother:

"We determined to burn Massington, Wrangham

¹ The part of the ancient Berwickshire south of the Tweed

² From Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, vol. i. p. 252. The spelling of this and the succeeding letters of Sir Henry Percy has been modernised.

Hill, etc., which was done as we wished. . . The conflict was sharp and many Scots were slain, but we brought our men off. *The corn burnt is said to be worth two thousand marks.* We took thirty prisoners, two hundred horses, and thirty or forty nags. . . . So good a service, without loss of one man, has not been known a long time. I would have given my best horse for you to see the manful service at the water side.”¹

Queen Elizabeth on her accession had conferred the governorship of Tynemouth² upon Sir Thomas Hilton, at whose death, however, she re-appointed Henry Percy to the post, and now further marked her appreciation of his military capacity, by conferring upon him the command of a large body of light horse, to be equipped “like Black Harness of Almaine, otherwise called the Swart Rutters (Schwartz Ritter), and armed with corselets and two dagges (pistols) apiece.”³ He led

¹ *State Papers.*

² “We did the last sommer appoynt Sir Henry Percy, knight, uppon the death of Sir J. Hilton, to take the charge of Tynmouth, being a place necessary to be well guarded and sene to.”—Queen Elizabeth to the Duke of Norfolk, 10th January, 1559. *State Papers.* The following establishment was at this time fixed :

“ Fee per annum	£66	13	4
The annuytie for the same	33	6	8
One Master Gunner at 12 <i>d.</i> per diem	18	5	0
Eight Gunners at 6 <i>d.</i> per diem each	73	0	0
Eleven household servants, every one of them at £6 8 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> per annum	73	6	8

“ Granted by the Queene’s Maiestie yt now is, sum

£264 11 8”

See Thos. Brand’s *History of Newcastle*, vol. ii. p. 113.

Tynemouth Castle was used as a state prison, and here in 1563-4 James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell—afterwards Queen Mary’s third husband—was confined under Henry Percy’s charge. See Sharpe’s *Memorials*, p. 352.

³ Queen Elizabeth to Duke of Norfolk, 25th December, 1559. *Original State Papers.* With her habitual attention to detail the Queen desires that on the conclusion of the campaign the “dagges” should be

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these against the French auxiliary forces, who under General d'Oyzelle had captured and garrisoned Leith and other Scottish strongholds, and won a signal victory.

"I write to let your Honour understand," says the English Commissioner, "how worthily Sir Henry Percy behaved himselfe the firste day of the metinge of our enemies. I wolde be lothe to wryte unto your Honour more than trothe; I never sawe man do better, sense I was borne."¹

"I thinke you have herde ore now," writes Maitland, a fortnight later from the camp before Leith, "of the exploits done at Dunbarre by Sir Henry Percy, the Lord Ruthven and Lord of Grange, wherat at least fifty were taken and kyllled; and two Capteynes, one of Horsemen and one of Footmen, taken. Yesternight was a nombre of Frenchmen deffact in the very dytches of the town and all cut in pieces."²

The Queen thus acknowledges this service:

"For our trusty and faithful servants that be with you, we pray you give them for their service our comfortable thanks; and specially let them which adventured themselves so worthily at the approche at Lethe be remembered by name, that they may think their service well bestowed. For indede we hear mucche comendation of

collected and returned into the public magazines, "lest they fall into the hands of the people."

¹ Randolph to Cecil, 10th April, 1560. *Original State Papers, Scotland*. Record Office.

² Maitland to Cecil, 28th April, 1560. *Ibid.* The French commander of the garrison of Leith was required on his capitulation to sign a treaty, one of the articles of which provided for the Kings and Queens of France relinquishing the title and arms of England and Ireland. That practice of publishing false reports of their military operations, which in modern times became so notorious through the *Moniteur*, seems already at this time to have prevailed; for the English ambassador in Paris informs his Government that the French authorities had represented the action before Leith as a signal victory on their part, in which Sir Henry Percy, the English commander, had been slain.—Throckmerton to Cecil, 28th April, 1560. *Ibid.*

THE VICTORY AT DUNBAR.

diverse, as of Sir Henry Percy, your own son, Barnabye, Knevet (of whose hurt we be very sorry), and of others of the horsmen.”¹

A.D.
1558—1560

Here is Sir Henry Percy's own despatch, from which it is clear that he was not disposed to allow others to reap the credit of his achievements :

“After most humble and hearty commendations I have received your letter bearing date the xiiijth of this Instant howbeit it was the xxiiijth or it came unto my hands. Sir, your letter is to me no small comfort, and I wish of God that I may be the man which shall do my country service; And also that I may deserve the continuance of your good will; I mean not, for your authority sake. And where you will me not to faint in my doings for any frownings here, I assure you the body shall not be spared at any time for the honour of the Queen, the service of my country, or the pleasure of my friend; for as a true man needs not to fear the accusations of theft, no more do I think that envious persons can hurt them who be not able to accuse their own conscience.”² As for the exploit that was done the last day at Dunbar, whereof I am assured you be advertised, whatsoever any man doth write, I will not find fault at it; but, if you will credit me, there was no man living privy to that draught but the Lord of Grange and my self, and as for Scotchmen there was not xx in the field. The Lord Ruthven was at it by chance, wherefore let not the Lord of

¹ The Queen to Lord Grey, 14th April, 1560. Haynes, p. 239. It appears that Sir Henry Percy was summoned to a personal interview with the Queen, who writes to the Duke of Norfolk on 17th May, “We have herd Sir Henry Percy declare dyvers things to us of the proceedings, and present state of our army, at his comyng from before Lethe; and in most of things requiring consideration and supply from hence, we have gyven immediate order for the same.”—*Original State Papers, Scotland*. Record Office, p. 311.

² This appears to refer to Lord Grey and Sir James Crofts, who had written in unfavourable terms of both the Percies.

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1532-1585

Grange lose his well doings. There was taken Captain Hayes and Captain Perrot, xlvj French footmen taken and slain and xij horsemen. Our purpose was for that them of Dunbar troubled such as passed betwixt our Camp and England. The Lord of Grange and I made xij of our soldiers to pass by Dunbar at ix of the clock in the morning, and we ourselves were laid the night before in a secret place by Dunbar so that when our xij men passed in the morning, Captain Hayes with a dozen horsemen issued out after them, and Captain Perrot with ^{1^{tie}} footmen to relieve him. Our English men as we had commanded them did fly, and the French horsemen and footmen pursued them very fast. So when they were a mile and a half from Dunbar, I and thirty of my charge, with the Lord of Grange chiefest, broke and cut betwixt them and the town, and at the first charge overthrew the footmen and drove the horsemen into a house called Inverwick ; whereat we alighted and with our arquebusiers on horseback and such arquebuses as we had won of the French footmen, we besieged the house and won it. Where you would have me to advertise you of our occurrences here, I desire you to hold me excused therein ; for as to the things under my charge, although they be but small yet shall I be glad to advertise you ; and as for other men's doings it will be better declared unto you than I can be able to do. For you know the phrase of my rude writing, not being meet to make discourse of such weighty affairs as here be. I have written heretofore unto you and my Lady your wife, most humbly desiring you to let me understand whether they came to your hands or not. And as for mine own affairs which I have long troubled you in, I mean Tynemouth, I pray you let me not be burthened with so weighty a place as I am, and so small commission to rule the same by. For you know I have kept it this twelve months almost at mine

own charges, which is too sore a burthen for a younger brother of my ability. I will not trouble any further, but desiring you to make my hearty commendations to my Lady your wife, thus I wish the daily increase of your honour. From the Camp the last of April, 1560.¹

A.D.
1558—1560

Lord Grey, who was in chief command of the expedition, appears to have acquired an unenviable reputation for severity towards his prisoners and, as appears from the following report, General d'Oyzelle, when compelled to capitulate, paid Sir Henry Percy the compliment of desiring to surrender his sword to him as a more chivalrous enemy :

"May it please your grace to be advertised that, according to your grace's commandment by Sir George Hayward, I have spoken with my Lord Grey and upon the same sent my trumpeter to Mons. d'Oyzelle, where at his coming he was well received with fair words, as by meats and drink also. . . . My man was called to Mons. d'Oyzelle, who said unto him. . . . 'You know very well that I have borne good will to your Master, and seeing that we be presently in distress, not in victuals, I assure you, and so tell your Master (of mine honour), but being now in despair of our recourse (? succours) from France, and hearing of your army coming forward, which makes us to think that by time you will overcome us, therefore I was desirous to speak with Sir Henry for this cause, *that knowing the ill treatment of our soldiers by my Lord Grey, as also by the uncourteous language to our messengers, I had rather we, the nobility, should fall into the hands of Sir Henry, then to taste of the cruelty of my Lord Grey, which is not unknown unto us*; for we have had experience of the mercy which your Master hath shewed in victories

¹ Sir Henry Percy to Cecil. *Original State Papers, Scotland.* Record Office. Vol. iii. p. 59.

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1532-1585

against us, so are we assured of the violence that the Lord Grey can do unto us, whose Reports come to us daily. Therefore I sent my drum the last day for to show your Master this matter if he would speak with me; and if so be it that I durst come forth of the town unsuspected to the soldiers and noblemen, I assure you I would be glad to speak with Sir Henry; but if he would come into the town, I would make him what assurance or pledge he would desire for his safe return.”¹

Sir Henry Percy appears to have been less considerate towards his Scottish prisoners of war. In March, 1565, the Earl of Moray writes to Leicester and Cecil, begging them to intercede on behalf of “the Master of Marechall” (Lord Keith), a prisoner of the Earl of Northumberland, and in the immediate custody of Henry Percy, “by quhome, as we ar informit, he is in sic rigorous maneir handilyt as we esteyme not fytt nor convenient for ye present tym of peac.”²

The English Commissioners at the Scottish court write to Cecil in the same strain: “Sir Henry Percy, who would gyve my man noe aunswer, but said he would send his aunswer himself to the Queens Majestye, sence has flatly refusit to the said Maister to lett hym upon any Scotchman his bond. . . . Some moderation shold be usid in such caases, and if men be not in their demaunds temperate, thay wold be reducit *ad arbitrium boni viri*.”

Shortly after her accession the Queen had appointed Sir Henry Percy her Commissioner to conduct negotiations with the Scottish *Congregationers*,³ who at this time

¹ Sir Henry Percy to the Duke of Norfolk (then Lieutenant-General of the North), 6th June, 1560. *Original State Papers, Scotland*, vol. iv. No. 3.

² *Ibid.*, vol. x. Nos. 23 and 25.

³ See Camden's *Annales*, vol. i. p. 57. So staunch a Protestant was

contemplated the establishment of a Protestant alliance with England. His correspondence with John Knox and William Kircaldy of Grange¹ is on record to attest the ability and tact with which he acquitted himself of this delicate mission; and his report to the President of the Council deserves quotation as an historical document, as well as an evidence of Sir Henry Percy's diplomatic capacity:

A.D.
1558-1560

"After my right humble commendations, this shall be to let you understand that I have conferred with the Duke of Chatelherault, otherwise called the Governor of Scotland, whom I do find overmuch desirous of the amity and friendship of England, with a great number of the nobility of Scotland as his friends and others.

"First, I did break with him, what injury he was like to receive for his title to the crown by the marriage with France: who answered, That he could take no damage so long as the title were not present in his hands: But that if it should chance the title to fall unto him, he doubted not, but his friends would with their lives and goods defend his title against the French King, if he should attempt it, and trusted to have the Queen our mistresses favour in the same.

"Secondarily, I declared unto him, that by means of the forts and strengths that they had suffered the French to possess, they were not able to make resistance against them, but lived under their thralldom: so that if they minded any displeasures of the French, for the saving of

Sir Henry Percy at this time that he acted as one of the Commissioners to administer the oath of allegiance and conformity imposed by Elizabeth upon all ecclesiastics (*Fœdera*, xv. 611-612); a duty only conferred upon those who had openly conformed to the new doctrines.

¹ The original letters are in the Record Office. They are calendared in the Scottish Series of *State Papers*, A.D. 1509-1603, vol. i. p. 110 *et seq.*

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1532-1585

their inheritances, being under the governance of their strengths, they durst not attempt any thing to them prejudicial: So that I could not see, if the Queen our mistress was minded to assist them, that it would be anything beneficial to them. To this he answered, That as for the forts they had in their hands, it was not greatly material. First, considering they were not able to maintain those places without victual, munition and other necessities which could not be had but by their assistance. Therefore, to have the strengths and forts of a realm, and not a country to maintain them withal, they would in short time be more weary of keeping those places, than they annoyed these maintaining them. So that they doubted not but that they would be glad to have a safe-conduct to depart: and principally that if the Queen of England would assist the nobility of Scotland there was not that Fort in their hands, but in a short time would be glad to render it, or at leastwise by force to leave it.

"Thirdly, I declared unto him, That I could not understand by what means it were possible, that the Queen our mistris, would or could assist them of Scotland: considering the warrs that lately were levied by them, and the maintenance of the French our Queen's enemies, who be daylie annoyers unto our Realm and likely to oppress and put you to ruine.

"To the which he answered: I confess very well those warrs betwixt us and your Realm were begun by our Queen dowager of Scotland and some nobility who would seeme to follow the Queen's mind therein, partly trusting to have a recompense for the same; and some others for mere Flattery provoked her to that folly: But if you would call to remembrance what little attempts have been offered by us, the chief of Scotland; as for example at our last army, which should have been for

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1558-1560

the winning of Wark, you understood and knew it very well, altho' the Queen on the pain of our allegiance had commanded us to come to the Frontiers, which we could not of Duty have denied: and then coming hither on the Frontier, it was proposed to us, that we should attempt the winning of Wark and the invasion of England which, all that time we knew very well, you were not provided nor furnisht for us. Yet answered we, the whole nobility, that to defend our country we were there and to spend our lives: but for attempting any thing in England or invasion of the country, we would not do, not understanding by whom, or for what cause, the war was begun. Wherefore our Queen dispersed her camp in great choler, and partly against her honour. Therefore may you see, what minds we have of ourselves to do you of England any annoyance; and since that time we have not attempted anything against your realm.

"Fourthly, I said: My Lord, as I have not authority to debate or resolve of these weighty affairs, yet for the good zeal I bear unto my country, and with the unity and peace among Christians, in my opinion it were a goodly matter to have assured Friendship, [and to consider] in what subjection our Realm was in by our late marriage with the King of Spain; and what inconveniences did follow, as by the intangling us in wars and other like things. And in like case, [of] your Realm, which at this present is not void of the like incumbrance, as now ours clearly is. Methinks, in my opinion, it were a goodly matter, if it could be so brought to pass, that you might be clearly out of the subjection of France, [so] as to live, as you have done heretofore, as a realm of yourselves.

"To which he answered: As for the incumbrance you had by your marriage, and now presently we have, it is

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a thing we wish gladly were amended, and yet it is not in our power until such time as God hath sent the same Fortune unto us as hath lighted upon you ; altho' we would much rejoyce, if God would send us the same hap. But as for the Christian amity you would betwixt our realms, you may be assured, that you be no more desirous to have an unity, peace, and quietness between these realms, than we be. Therefore if it can be devised, by what means to set a tranquillity betwixt our two realms I, and all my friends, shall be as much lead thereunto, as if I were a subject of England.

"Fifthly, I said: My Lord, seeing God hath sent a true and Christian Religion among you, as now the same, I doubt not, but shall take effect with us, how could it be better for the maintenance of God's word, than to join with us of England, and we with you, in such sort that if the French King, who is of the contrary, would attempt anything prejudicial to our Realm, and go about to bring your Realm into such subjection that of yourselves you could neither command nor direct, that then we should be so confedered together, that his folk were not able to attain anything that unto us should not seem well? To the which he answered :

"Sir Henry Percy, this is the first time that I have spoken with you, but it is not the first conference that has been betwixt us by message; and both for the House you are come of, and credit that all men have of you, I will speak my Fancy plainly unto you. You shall perceive, that if I should attempt anything against our Queen of Scotland, now being Heir, it were not possible that I should prevail, altho' I have many Friends. And moreover, it should be a great hindrance to my . . . Therefore I will promise you, as partly I have done

* A blank in the MS.

heretofore, my friendship in these things. First, I would by no means for my part that there shall any war continue betwixt you and us. Secondly, if the French King will inforce us to make any invasion upon you, it shall not be done to his contentation. Thirdly, if there be any attempts moved, either to Berwick or your Realm, of any great Importance, it shall be unto you certified. And if you invade us, the French King having any power in Scotland, we shall be glad to do our endeavour, that you have the advantage of them. And lastly, if the means can be found, that there be an abstinence taken betwixt us and you, the French King shall not be able to break the same, if you will so continue it. Therefore, as I know it hath been moved unto you the taking of an abstinence, I would wish the same might take effect. And as I have professed Friendship unto you, you shall be assured of the continuance thereof, unto the uttermost of my power, and more than I will speak, if occasion shall serve.

"And thus he willed me most earnestly, if I had credit (as he supposed I had) that his lawful friendship should unto the Realm of England be made known, both in the advancement of the Honour of the Realm, and the maintenance of the word of God, which he supposeth shall be by the Queen's Majesty set forth. Also he requireth me for the safeguard of his honour, that his friendship and goodwill might not be known to any more than one. The which I thought I would impart to you, most humbly desiring you would consider the state and honour, and my poor honesty, which lyeth only in the secret usage of this matter. I doubt not but you will let the Queen's Majesty understand the contents of this; the which I would have done myself, if it had not been the lack of uniform writing, that is in me only, who have never written to any so high and mighty princess. And

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as for my espialls, which be sundry, you shall understand that I have had great conference with them of late, the whole sum whereof is to the effect of an abstinence; so that it is too tedious for me to make you understand the whole sum; but as well as I can you shall perceive by this Letter, sent unto you and Sir William Cecil. Thus I daily wish the increase of your worship."¹

Public office under Queen Elizabeth was not over profitable to the recipients of her favour, and as a rule only the great and wealthy nobles could bear the expense involved in the exercise of the higher commands. Sir Henry Percy, ambitious as he was of distinction, found military employment in the North too costly for his means, and had to pray the Lord Treasurer "to have in remembrance my pore estate, and how little I am able to mantayne myselfe in the Queen's Majestie's affaires."² He had been thought unfit for the office of Deputy Warden of the marches, because of being "soe slenderlie furnished for such a charge;"³ and, as we have seen,⁴ he had previously remonstrated against being required to maintain the governorship of Tynemouth at his own expense, as being "too sore a burthen for a younger brother."⁵

Henry Percy, however, had succeeded in considerably improving his financial position by marriage with his cousin, Catherine Neville, the eldest daughter of John, the last Lord Latimer of his name;⁶ a man of so

¹ Sir Henry Percy to the Earl of Shrewsbury. Norham Castle 22nd January, 1558. *Cotton MSS. Caligula*, B. x. The orthography of this letter has been modernised.

² Sir Henry Percy to Cecil, 28th June, 1560. *State Papers*.

³ See Sir Ralph Sadler's letter to Cecil, November 1559, *ante* p. 13.

⁴ See his letter to Cecil, 30th April, 1560. *Ibid.* p. 132.

⁵ In 1570 the Queen granted to Henry Percy a new patent of the governorship of Tynemouth, upon more favourable terms, and with reversion to his two eldest sons. *Letters Patent*, 13 Eliz.^{1a}. (13th May).

⁶ He died in 1577. Camden says: "Hoc anno titulus Baronis Latimeri, quum in Nevillorum familia ab Henrici Sexti temporibus magno honore

profligate and disordered a life, that it was more than once determined to place his person under restraint, and his property under the guardianship of the Crown. His wife (a daughter of Henry Somerset, second Earl of Worcester, and sister to Anne, Countess of Northumberland) was, on the contrary, if we may believe the epitaph on her tomb,¹ possessed of all the virtues :

“Such as she is, such surely shall yee bee ;
 Such as she was, such if yee bee, be glad :
 Faire in her youth, though fatt in age grew she ;
 Vertuous in bothe, whose glosse did never fade.
 Though long alone she ledd a widowe's life,
 Yet never Ladye lived a truer wife.

From Wales she sprange, a Branch of Worcester's Race,
 Grafte in a stocke of Browne's, her mother's side ;²
 In Court she helde a maide of honor's place
 Whilst youth in her, and she in Court did byde.
 To John, Lord Latimer, then became she wife ;
 Four daughters had they breatheing yet in life.

Earl of Northumberland tooke the first to wife,³
 The nexte the heire of Baron Burleigh chose,³
 Cornwallis happ the third for terme of life,
 And Sir John Danvers pluckt the youngest, Rose.³
 Their father's heires, mothers all she sawe ;
 Pray, or Praise her, and make your list the lawe.”⁴

et opibus florisset, extinctus est in Joanne Nevillo.”—*Annales*, vol. ii. p. 318. The title, however, did not become extinct, but descended to the eldest son of Sir Henry Percy, afterwards 9th Earl of Northumberland. It was the widow of this Lord Latimer's father, Katherine Parr, who became one of the queens of Henry VIII.

¹ She was buried in the parish church of Hackney under an imposing monument, which comprised effigies of herself and her four daughters. In a memorandum by Dr. Thomas Percy, dated in 1778, we read: “This monument was taken down about seven or eight years agoe to make room for a pew, and the stones, effigies, and gilt rails are at present thrown together in a vault on the south side of the belfry.”—*Alnwick MSS.*

² Her mother was a daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, Standard Bearer to King Henry the Seventh.

³ The existing dukedoms of Northumberland and Leeds, and the marquissate of Exeter, spring from these three alliances.

⁴ Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, vol. ii. p. 80. The composer of this elegy, unwilling, apparently, to lose the credit of the authorship, caused these words to be inscribed upon the tablet: “Made by Sir William Cornwallis, knight, this ladie's sonne in lawe.”

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Sir Henry Percy had applied for the guardianship of his unruly father-in-law, "in remembrance of my poor ability and levinge and in what uncertainty that I have,"¹ and, from the active part he took in negotiating the marriage of one of the daughters, it appears probable that they, if not the dissolute old lord himself, had been committed to his guardianship.

In now proposing to bring about a marriage between his sister-in-law and Cecil's eldest son, Sir Henry Percy admits that his object was rather to strengthen his connection with the powerful Lord Treasurer than to consult the happiness of the young lady, whom he here paints in such charming colours :

"After my humble and hartie comendacons. Whereas I haue euer bene bound by yo^r goodnes towards me to devise by what meanes or s^uice I mighte requite the same, and havinge no cause sufficiently worthie ffor that I have receyued at yo^r handes; yett haue I thought good to aduertise youe of this whiche I have had in my mynde sence my mariage and before. And altho the mater shall not seme greatelye comodious towards youe, but that youe may advance youre house into muche greater levinge, yet will I humbly requier youe to receyue it as procedinge ffrome a faithfull ffrende. Youe shall vnderstand that my L. Lattimore havinge foure daughters, whereof as youe knowe I married one, and the second beinge of xv yeres, and as I supposse not muche unmete ffor mariage, I haue, sence the time of my mariage, kepte withe me this gentilwoman my suster, onelie to understand her dispossicion. And altho I thoughte to have had some conferance with youe in this mater at my laste beinge at the Coo^te, yett was I lettete ffor that I wold haue some tryall of the conversacion of the younge

¹ Sir Henry Percy to Secretary Cecil, 12th January, 1564. *State Papers*.

woman, whiche I assure youe is so good and vertuous as hard it is to find suche a sparke of youthe in this Realme; for bothe is she very wise, sober of behavoure, womanly, and in hir doinges so temperate as if she bare the age double hir yeres. Of stature like to be goodlie, and of Beutie verry well; hir haire browne, yet hir complexion very ffaire and cleare; the ffavoure of hir face euery Bodie may iudge it to haue bothe grace and wysdome. S^r, altho it be a dangerous matter thus much to write of a younge woman, yet, do I assure youe, I have said nothings more than she deserueth. S^r, for that my cousen youre sone is vnmarried, and that God haith induede youe wth suche gifts as is like to leave him greate possessions, yet do I thinke it not amise if that he were planted in some stocke of hono^r. And if this should so fortune as my harte desiers, bothe should he be matched in a greate house; as also the likelyhoode of possessions to come thereby. And consideringe the evill gouernement of my Lord, as also the good meanes you haue to establishe and devise a saftie of that house, we who alredie be matched wth that stocke should haue iuste occasion to thinke oure selues bound to youe, as also reioice to matche wth such one who might staye that whiche wthoute helpe were in greate daunger. Pchance this shall seme vnto youe that I write ffor my owen cause; I proteste before God, I do not. Mary, I muste confesse, glad I wold be that the follye of my Lord should not hasard that whiche mighte come to his childerin; *But the chief cause (by my ffaithe) is ffor that I had rather to be lynked wth youe, then withe any man in this Realme*, and so I hartely desier youe to excepte it. S^r, when you have posed this and pawsed of the same, I pray youe lett me be aduertisede. But in any case lett it not be knowen vnto any, for that there is nobilitye whiche earnestly goethe about to conquor this. Howbeit my credit is so good withe my

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Lady, my mother in Lawe, as also withe the younge gentlewoman, as be my advise they will be much gouerenede. And yfore if they should vnderstand that I had practised in this without there consents, it should be an occasion to make my credit the worse withe them. I do p^rceyue my L. is nowe at London, where he is Better to be talked wthall then in the country; but if youe be amynded to speke in the matter, in no wayes talke wth my Lord in it before I Breake it to my Ladie and the gentlewoman; ffor women be willfull if they be not first soughte vnto. S^r, if youe advise of this mater as mete it is, yet I praye youe to aduertise me whethere yo^u wold have it stayed or not any tyme, ffor that there is that goethe earnestly aboute to obteyne the thinge. Thus lavinge to trouble youe any ffurther, trustinge in shorte tyme to haue aduertisemente frome youe, I wyshe the encrease of yo^r hono^r. Frome the Quenes maiesties castell of Tynemouthe this xxv of January, 1561. Your most faithful and assured cousen to comaund,

“H. PERCY.”¹

The negotiation thus cautiously opened proved successful, and the marriage between Cecil's eldest son² and Lord Latimer's second daughter was celebrated in the following year.

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Sir Henry Percy, as we have seen, had shown conspicuous zeal in the suppression of the northern rebellion. Lord Hunsdon, Sir John Forster, Sir William Drewry, and other of the Queen's most loyal soldiers and counsellors had borne testimony to the value of his services

¹ Sir Henry Percy to Sir William Cecil. *Original State Papers*. vol. xxi. No. 26.

² Thomas, afterwards second Baron Burghley, and first Earl of Exeter. It was his younger brother Robert, afterward first Earl of Salisbury, who attained such high power under Elizabeth and James, and from whom the present Marquis of Salisbury is directly descended.

and his zeal in her interests. Sussex described him as a man "holly at the Queen's Majesty's devotion in the cawse of the Scottishe maryage, sownde from this rebellion, redie with all his force to serve against them, and willing to venter his person with the first."¹

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1569-70

Elizabeth lost no time in making sure of him by the promise of her gracious favour :

"Lyke as we have alwayes had an assured good opinion of your fidelity towards our estat, and a special devotion towards our self, so are we very gladd to understand as we do at this time, of your constancye and forwardnes in our service, although the same be against your brother of Northumberland ; whom as we have loved hertofore, and trusted upon his sundrie promises made to us of his Allegiance, so we are sorrie to see him by his disorders, against his loyaltie, to hazarde the overthrow of his Howse. But considering your fidelitie to us, we wold have you well assured that, continuing your service and duty, we will have regard to have the Continuance of such a House in the Person and Blood of so faithfull a servant as we trust to find you."²

It was at this juncture, after he had materially and ostentatiously contributed towards the suppression of the abortive rebellion, and had witnessed its feeble collapse ; when the cause in which his brother had been wrecked was discredited at home and abroad ; and when Elizabeth,

¹ Sussex to Cecil, 7th January, 1570. *State Papers*.

² Queen Elizabeth to Sir Henry Percy, 17th November, 1569.—Haynes, p. 555. The promise of favour and public employment is intelligible ; but as the attainder of the seventh Earl did not affect the succession, which, by virtue of the entail made by Queen Mary fell to Henry Percy, it is difficult to understand why the Queen held out the prospect of the "continuance" of the Earldom in his person as an act of grace on her part. There may have been good reasons for not permitting him to claim the succession during his attainted brother's lifetime, but on that brother's death Sir Henry Percy became legally Earl of Northumberland. He was not, however, summoned to Parliament as such, or officially recognised under the title, until four years later.

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having triumphed over all her enemies, had promised him her countenance and favour, that Henry Percy allowed himself to be drawn into a secret conspiracy on behalf of the Scottish Queen.

The principal evidence to implicate him in the plot is contained in the several depositions of the Bishop of Rosse¹ and other State prisoners, according to whom Percy had come forward unsolicited, and volunteered to provide men and horses to enable Mary to escape, undertaking himself to escort her across the border. So unexpected was aid from this quarter that the Duke of Norfolk would not believe in the sincerity of the proposal, though he thought that if Henry Percy would undertake the service, he were the fittest man for it in England.²

The Bishop, however, stated that he had "found Sir Henry Percy wylling ynow, but not yet resolvit; for he stode upon some terms that if he were well usid here, he wold not deale for the Queen of Scotts, but remane a frend till tyme might serve; but if he were not well usid, he wold go through with the matter;"³ and, again, that Henry Percy had told him that he "had a sute at this Parlament to be Enheritour to his brother, and that yf that toke not effect he wold do the best he could for the delivery of the Scotts Quene;" but that if it did, "he wold not meddle because of his nere children, but he wold loke through his fyngers if she eskapid away."⁴

¹ Some time Queen Mary's envoy at Elizabeth's court; now a prisoner in the Tower.

² Murdin, p. 22. In the depositions of William Barker we read, "My Lord Norfolk did not believe that Sir Henry Percy, of all other, wold deale in the matter."—*Ibid.* p. 119.

³ *Ibid.* At this time Sir Henry Percy's petition to be placed in possession of the titles and estates of the attainted, but still living, Earl of Northumberland, was before the Queen (there is a copy of the document at Syon House); and his "usage" evidently refers to Elizabeth's reluctance to accede to his prayer during his brother's lifetime.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 21.

A.D.
1570-71

At their next meeting he informed the Bishop that he had "resolv'd to take the matter in hande, for he saw he was not answerd to his expectation here. . . . He wold become hir (Queen Mary's) servant, and shift well ynow with the Worlde, for he shuld have frends ynow in those partes to do any enterprise to serve the Scottishe Queene's, *or his owne*, turne, and that way wold he occupie hymselfe."¹

The more closely Henry Percy's proceedings at this juncture are scrutinised, the greater becomes the difficulty of assigning an intelligible motive to his action. There was no trace of that enthusiasm which had inspired other of the conspirators in his suddenly-aroused sympathy for Mary; on the contrary, a prudential regard for his own interests is observable throughout. His brother's strong attachment to the Catholic faith had enabled him to justify rebellion to his conscience; but Henry Percy had never allowed his mind to be troubled with the merits of conflicting creeds; had remained a Catholic while Queen Mary reigned, and become a Protestant as soon as Elizabeth's accession promised to make his conversion advantageous. He had never seen the Queen of Scots, so there could have been no personal attachment; nor had any persuasions been used to win him over, for, as has been shown, he was deemed to be the very last man whom the plotters could hope to enlist in their enterprise, besides being little amenable to the influences of others, in any matter in which his personal interests were involved. Yet, apparently for no reason but that there had been some delay in the consideration of his prayer to be allowed to rise upon the ruin of his unhappy brother, he took the course which was of all others most certain to arouse

¹ Murdin, pp. 119, 120.

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Elizabeth's implacable resentment; and risked estate, liberty, and life in a cause of the success of which so sagacious a man could hardly have entertained a hope.

Cecil was far too well served by his spies to have remained in ignorance of the fact that a plot for the liberation of the Scottish Queen had been set on foot; and it was not long before he held in his hands the threads of the whole conspiracy.

Several different plans for liberating Mary had been proposed by the conspirators in conclave, all of which were duly communicated to the Earl of Shrewsbury, whose timely precautions frustrated their plans.

"Besydes Sir Thomas Stanley's enterpryse," writes Lord Burghley,¹ "Sir Henry Percy, for whom I am right sorrie, was a great devisor to have hyr (Queen Mary) from you about Ester last, and the Bishop of Rosse had taken the measure of a window where she sholde have been lett downe. Your change of hir lodgyng altered the enterpryse, whereat she was much offendid."²

To this Lord Shrewsbury replies: "If Sir Henry Percy will be a traitor, I had as leve deel with him as another; for that in resisting him, being a soldier, I should win more credit. If they pursue any attempt . . . we shall be able to give them such a banquet as they should repent."³

¹ Cecil had been raised to the peerage under this title early in this year.

² Lord Burghley to Earl of Shrewsbury, 19th October, 1571. *State Papers*.

³ Shrewsbury to Burghley, 24th October, 1571. *Ibid.* Lord Shrewsbury suspected the old Countess of Northumberland (widow of the sixth Earl) of complicity in these attempts. In August 1571 he informed Cecil that she was "of great age, both impotent and of no ability to govern herself; but like a child led and seduced to popery, and such dangerous inconveniences, by such as she had about her;" and on 4th October following he writes: "Hearing last night that the old lady of Northumberland would privately remove this morning with her household to Shropshire, and with the pretence of going to the Earl of Pembroke, whereas her full meaning is to remain

A few days later Sir John Forster received orders for the apprehension¹ of Sir Henry Percy, who, informed of the proceedings in progress, escaped to London, where he was arrested. On the 15th November the Privy Council acquaint Forster that "for certain considerations Sir Henry Percy is committed to the custody of Sir Ralph Sadler," who is at the same time directed to visit Tynemouth Castle and to report upon its condition. Henry Percy's foresight in having established a close family connection with the Lord Treasurer now becomes apparent, and Cecil's friendship stands him in good stead. In his instructions, Forster is admonished "to leave off all remembrance of unkindness" in the performance of this duty, and further to make his inspection at Tynemouth in company with "two justices of the peace, who shall not be suspected of bearing the accused any ill-will."

Upon receipt of the report on the condition of Tynemouth Castle, which was stated to have been greatly neglected and devoid of ordnance,² Percy was committed

in one of Sir Thomas Fitzherbert's houses in Staffordshire, I thought it best to stay her this morning in the Queen's name, until her Majesty's pleasure were further known. The more unwilling I saw her the more earnest I was, though with quiet manner, and as gentle words as I could use; offered, if she wished change of air for her health, or lacked any necessity, she should have any house or commodity I had, and would do anything for her health or comfort of mind. I thought it good also to take order, by attendance of some of the servants, that she shall be kept from the resort of suspected persons who still seek to abuse her impotent age to the contempt of her Highness's proceedings. She is not yet brought to take the communion, and uses no divine service in her house. Though her example is intolerable, I trust no great inconvenience will ensue, as long as she remains where I can keep my eye upon her and those who resort to her."—*State Papers*. See also *Mary, Queen of Scotland, in Captivity*, by T. Leader. London, 1880.

¹ Privy Council to Sir John Forster, 23rd October, 1571. *State Papers*.

² The inquiry appears to have been instituted with regard to a rumour that Percy had been in treaty for surrendering the castle to the Scots, but which must have proved entirely unfounded, since it is not even referred to in the official report.

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to the Tower, whence a few months later he made this appeal for the Queen's grace :

“ Ryght honorable, and my singuler good Ll,—Findyng my selffe destytute of my nerest and derest frendes by nature, (and of many others by thare faulttes,) without any offense I thanke God, I am forced to flye to your honors as to my beste refuge in this my harde case, and to craue your honorabie fauores in fortherynge me to the grace and marcy of the Quene, hyr most exselent Maiestie; wyche I most humbly seke and sue for, as one that confesses my selffe to haue offendytt hir hyghnes. And althoughe I myght here (I call God to wyttnes) iustly and truly laye for my selffe that this my faultte, for wyche I nowe suffer, hathe bene a forgetfulnes of duty to hir maieste in consealyng of other men's inordenat deuyses, rather thene any dysloyall yeldyng of my partte, or vndutyfull meanyng to exsecute the same in any sorte to the offens of hir hyghnes: yet leuyng all excusse and deffense of my selffe hearin (houe iust or true so euer the same be), I do here most humbly and dutyffuly submytt, nott only the quallyte of my offense to be iuged of by hir maieste, but my selffe also, to any punesment what so euer it shall please hir hyghnes to lay a pone me for the same. And altho' I ame fully detarmyned lykewysse, without any grudginge or repinyng tharat, dutyffuly to abyde the tyme of suche corectyone as hir hyghnes shall thynke suffesent to satisfy hir displesure consauyd aganst me for my faultte, yet yff it shall please hir maieste to stand so myche my good and grasius lady, (and the rather by your Ll. good meanes for me) as to releasse, or releue me of this harde imprasonement wyche I suffer, beinge more hurtffull to my wake body thene greuous to my mynde (I thanke God), I wyll promys to hir hyghnes by your honors, nott only my best and vttermost endeuyre to conteneue suche true and fathefull saruys

as I haue bein heretofore always redy and wyllynge to do for hir maieste, but to better it hereafter yeff I may possably by any meanes. And as I shall haue iuste cause to cary this your Ll. grett fauore, and vnderaruyd trendshipe of my partte in gratffull rememberanse, so wyll I nott sease to trauell, tyll by sune thankfull plesure or sarvys to youe or sune of yours, I haue requited your honorable cortosies in this behalffe. And thus wyslinge moste honor to your Ll. I comytt the same to the Almyghtye. Frome the towre this xxij day of February 1571-2. A.D. 1571

“Your Ll. humble at comandment,

“Pervsed by me, Wy^m Hopton, “H. PERCY.”¹
Lievtennant.”

Percy's assurance of his having up to this time had no ulterior views beyond Queen Mary's liberation from her prison, is borne out by the testimony of several of his accomplices in this design, among others, by Edmund Powell, who in a long letter addressed to Cecil from the Tower says:

“The chefe matter you stande with me upon, whereyn also you tell me her hyghness is unsatysfyed, is to express what intention Sir Harry Percy, and I, or any body elsth whom I delt in this matter, had and what we ment to have done with the Skottysh Queene yf we had stollen her away; whereunto I annswer that in that poynt *we never waded so farr*, and as we were unresolved in all other, so most of all in that, whereof we never commoned. Sir Harry Pey and I cold not determyne to doo a thyng before we knew whether we cold doo it or no; our communication was nothing but which way,

¹ Addressed to “the Right Hon^{ble} and very singular good Lords the Erle of Laycester and My Lord Burleghe.”—*Original State Papers*, Record Office. vol. 85, No. 51.

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when, by day or nyght, with how few, such a thing mowght best be done, and yff a man should goo about it

"In talke, when I asked Sir Harry Percy what he wold doo, yff such a thinge should be gon about, 'Marry!' seythe he 'never for my parte sturr foote, for yff she may be delivered she mowght be conveyed away with a man or two, and never be knowen who dyd it. Marry, I wold thanck God, yff it wer, that you wer wyth her yff you could.' "

"Whereunto I made no direct answer, yea or no. Now yff neythre he wold ever sturr out of doores, neythre he knew whether I wold or no, what end could we two apoynt upon?"

The Queen was not, however, disposed to show Henry Percy any indulgence, and even resented the degree of liberty which, by Burghley's favour, had been allowed to the prisoner within the Tower.

"I brake with Her Majestie also about Sir Henry Piercy," writes Leicester; "she was in some doubt what was best to do, but in the end she concluded he should have his tryal. She gave me great chardge to wyll your lordship to have great and spetyall care to have yt substancyally donne, least there be some packing and partyal favor shewyd she being perswaded that none hath more deservyt than he, consydering alway hertofore her favour and goodnes shewyd toward him, and that none hath answered her dewty agen with more dyssimulation. 'In any wyse,' sayth she, 'byd my Lord Treasurer shew himsele as he shuld doe in this case of Percy's least some may think to please Burley, for that he hath matched with hym, lett him deal with the Attorney and my learned Counsel the more earnestly, that they may perceve that he lookes only to my service.' Besyde, she said, she was informyd that Sir Hary

* Edmund Powell to Lord Burghley, 20th February, 1572. *Original State Papers*, Record Office. Vol. 85, No. 48.

Percye had, as yt werr, the liberty of the Tower, and walked openlie uppon the Hill at his pleasure, and who lyst talked with hym 'This manner of specyell favor shewyd to him above the rest' (sayth she) 'wyll cawse some folks to thinke that it is for Burleigh's sake ; therefore lett him have specyall care to give chardge, both to my learned counsell and the judges, to have good regard to the Proceedings with him ; for I think,' quoth she, 'his faulte as grete as any man's, though yt be no hie treason.' Suerly I find she lookes to have Sir Henry Percye secretly¹ dealt withal, and the more for that yt toucheth not his lyfe."²

A.D.
1571-73

After the lapse of eighteen months the prisoner was brought to trial, as appears from the following record :

"Henry Percy, late of Tinmouth in the countie of Northumberland, knight, was indicted in the terme of Easter, in the fourteenth yeere of Her Majesties raigne, for that he, with divers others, did conspire for the delivering of the Queene of Scottes out of the custodie of the Earle of Shrewsburie ; upon which indictment the same Henry Percie did confesse the offence ; and did put himselfe to the Queene's mercie, and thereupon judgement was after given by the Court that the saide Henry shoulde pay to the Queene for a fine for his said offence, five thousand marks,³ as appeareth bi the Recorde thereof in Court.⁴

As the sentence did not in itself involve imprisonment,

¹ So in the printed text ; but in the original MS. the word is, with exception of the two first letters, obliterated, and the context points to "severely" rather than secretly.

² Earl of Leicester to Lord Burghley, 1st November, 1572. Murdin, p. 228.

³ Only a fraction of this sum appears to have been paid, for in April, 1594, the 9th Earl of Northumberland petitioned for a remission of the fine imposed upon his father, and in the following December a warrant was issued, discharging him of £3,132, or within £200 of the total claim. *State Papers*.

⁴ *Proceedings of Privy Council*.

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Percy's detention in the Tower to the end of the year was probably the result of the non-payment of the fine. On being then released, however, Sir Henry Percy was required to take up his permanent abode at Petworth, and prohibited from approaching within ten miles of the metropolis. On the 12th July, 1573, the Privy Council informed him that "at the humble suit of his wife, being with child, Her Majesty for more ease permits the *Earl of Northumberland* to come to London or thereabouts, using himself circumspectly, and that he should not depart above one or two miles from thence till her highness's pleasure were known."¹

Although in this document he is styled Earl of Northumberland it was not until three years later that he was summoned to Parliament under that title.²

His past offences seem now, however, to have been forgiven by the Queen, who indeed showed him some exceptional marks of her personal favour,³ and on one occasion is said to have honoured him with a visit at Petworth.⁴

¹ *Privy Council Journals*.

² *Journals of Parliament*, 18th Elizabeth.

³ In his evidence before the Star Chamber in June 1585, Sir Christopher Hatton says of the Earl that at this time "No man of his qualitie received greater countenance and comfort at Her Maiesties handes than he, inasmuch that in all exercises of recreation used by Her Maiestie, the Earl was always called to be one; and whensoever Her Maiestie showed herself abroad in publique she gave to him the honor of the best and highest services about her person, more often than to all the noble men of the Court."—See a pamphlet in the British Museum entitled, *A true and summarie reporte of the declaration of some parte of the Earle of Northumberland's Treasons*. In ædibus C. Barker, London, 1585. The names of the Earl and his Countess appear regularly from 1577 to 1583 in the lists of the donors and recipients of Royal New Years' Gifts, printed in the Calendar of *State Papers*.

⁴ Sir William Cornwallis writes that, "When Her Maiestie shall have had experience of the roughness and inequality of the Roads, she wold not thank them that hath persuaded her to this progress."—*State Papers, Add.* p. 113.

As Nicholls makes no mention of this visit, in his *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, it is probable that the state of the roads may have prevented its accomplishment.

The following letter belongs to this period :

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1573-81

" My Vere good Lorde and cossene, wheareas my Lorde and grandfather dyd make a mareage betwext his sone the Lorde percy, my uncle, and the earlle of Shrowsberes daughter, your Lo.'s awnte ; and the sade covenantes of mareage as I suposse to be wth yowe ; I ame occassioned for sundere causses to seke for the sade covenantes, wyche I cane not, as I suposse, come by the same wth out your L. good meanes. Also as I persave my sade grandfather dyd make ane estatte of his landes in the 4 yere of H. 8. or there a bowttes, and dyd leve fines of the same putynge your L. grandfather in truste, as a spessiall feffore thare of I ame nowe hartyly to dessire your L. if yowe cane helpe me, ether to the one of thes, or bothe, that I may have your favore heerein for that the thinges wolde stand me in great stede ; not that I mynd to have theme out of your L. handes, but a seight of theme ; wyche wolde do me great plessure, and I shalbe redy w^t any thinge I cane to requitt your L. cortesie. And thus wth my moste harty comedassions to your L. and my good lady your wyffe, I wyshe unto youe bothe as to my selffe. Frome my howsse in sancte martenes, this 19 of may 1581.

" Your L. moste assured frend and Cossene,

" NORTHUMBERLAND.¹

"To the righte honorable my verie good
L. and Cosin thearle of Shrewsburie
Earle Marshall of Englande."

It is evident that, while personally acceptable to the sovereign, the Earl continued to be viewed with suspicion as a sympathiser with the Catholic cause, and a supporter

¹ From the original letter, in possession of the Marquis of Bath at Longleat.

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of the claims of the Scottish Queen to the succession. It was doubtless on these grounds that he remained under prohibition to appear among his people in the North, where the influence of his name was as powerful as ever, and where his adherents made frequent efforts to re-establish him in their midst.¹

He affects, it is true, to be reconciled to his exclusion from public life, and to his enforced retirement at Petworth, where he describes himself as "living like a rustike and very well contente therewith, for although it is solitary, yet it is quiett;"² but his active and scheming mind must have chafed under so tame an existence, and yearned for scenes and pursuits more congenial to his adventurous spirit.

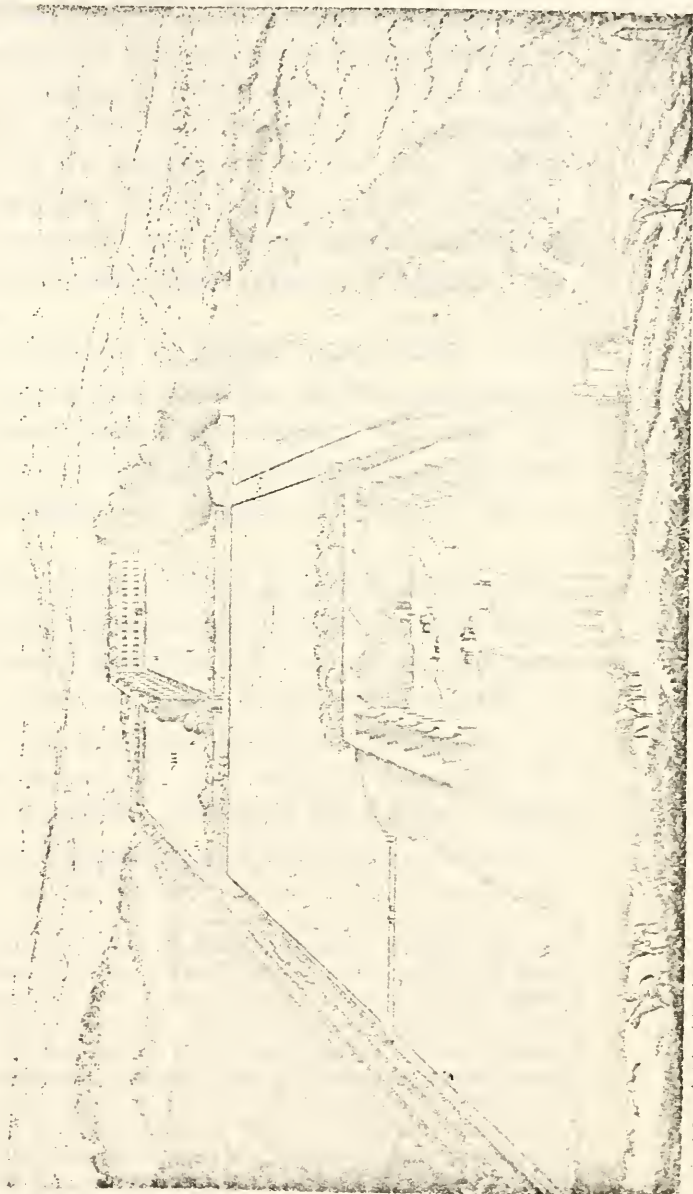
The following letter, though he still professes to be completely submissive to the Queen's will, betrays his anxiety to take part in the affairs of his native province.

"My vere good Lorde,

"I have resavyd your letter, and do hartyly thanke your lordship for your good advyse consarnynge my boy. I have resavyd a lettre from my lordes of hir maiisties privie counsell touchenge one attainer served against sartine gentellmene in Northumberland, and a cople of my answare I sende to your L. herewith. My lorde, I am much urged to prosicute this attainer, bothe in defense of my honor and inheritance, for I have resavyd as greet injurie at there handes as may be, and they have done as foulle facte in passenge the verdict againste Sir Cudbarte

¹ "I fear that the Lord President (the Earl of Shrewsbury) entertains designs against the queen, and draws too many persons to his side. If we had such an one as the Earl of Northumberland planted in these parts it would draw most people from him, and we should find a sure pillar to lean on."—Sir Christopher Rokeby to Lord Burghley, September, 1580, *State Papers*.

² *Lansdowne MSS.* 28, 19.



THE OLD HOUSE AT PETWORTH

Spencer's Photo. Club, 1890

(Cuthbert) Colyngwode as almost might be, to the evill exsampil of that rude contrie;¹ and for my selffe, my lorde, I am too outrageously usyd in all thinges apertanyne to me, and those under me, having charge in that contre, as they be put in danger, so unsevell are thare doings against me. My parkes and chases be contenually hunted, as well in the nyghte as in the day, almost distroynge all the game I have, and yet not so contentyd, but beatte my servantes and setting up the heades of the deer where they have kylled them in dissipite of me and my offissors.

"If I were a traittor or an abjecte, they cowlde do no more uttrage unto me than they do; and to complane, I knowe it wyll come before my enimies, who wyll but laughe to see me so usyd; and I am ashamyd, to tell your Lordship the trowthe, they showlde understand of my greffes.

"Your L. knoweth that it is hir maiesties plessure that I am restraned from those partes, whereby I cannot make suche redresse to my causes as if I were there, nor geve countenance to the same being absente; My Lorde, in good fathe I repine not at the restrente of my lybertte; for I knowe it good reason that hir Maiestie command the bodies of all hir subjects; but nowe, My Lorde, I make my mone to you, my singuller good Lord and frende, as to one whome, the worlde knowth, loves to have justis and

¹ Such was the exhausted state of Northumberland towards the end of the sixteenth century that the greater part of the country had been thrown out of cultivation, and entire districts, ravaged by the Scots, were deserted by the inhabitants. In his report for the year 1583, Mr. Stockdale, one of the Earl of Northumberland's auditors, writes: "I praye you be a meanes to preferre these ij Robsonnes, for we could have neyther horse nor man in all the Lordshipp of Prudhow, the Manor of Newborne and Shibottle, to help to guide his Lordship's Treasure to Topcliff, but onelie them; who willinglie lefte house, wyff and children, put on their steele cappes, and made themselves readie and brought us saffe to Topcliffe, with the two horse-loads of money."—From the original MS. *penes Com. Northumbria*. Alnwick MSS.

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good order minystered in all countries, and to all men, wherefore I crave of your good L. if you can by any good meanes to causse the furious doynges of these dissordered parsonnes against me to be tamed, and I shall think me greatly beholden to your L. for the same ; otherwyse I shall be without remede, yet determyned with passience to beare all thinges ; for if I shoulde attempte sutte in lawe, I shall not have justis in those partes. If I shoulde deffende my causse with forse, I finde it dangerous, considering the enymiss I have ; and therefore I knowe not what waye to turn me, but to beare whatsoever shall hapene. One thinge I am much afrade of, that is of Sir Coudbarte Collyngwode, who is my offissor, that his lyffe is in great perelle in that contrie, for the enmythie they bear him, as also he being my offissor for esecutinge my directyones. I marvele greatly your L. and the reste of the counselle have not hearde of such matters as are betwext him and others of that contrie. If hir maiestie lose that man, I speake it without affection or parsiallytie, she loseth the truest gentleman, and one of the moste able to sarve hir, that is that contrie. I dessir your L. to pardone me in trobellynge your L. so myche in this matter, and thus I comytte your L. to God, wysshenge you all honor and happenes. From my howsse at Petworthe, this 13th of September, 1581.

“ Your L.,

“ most assurid cossene to comand,

“ H. NORTHUMBERLAND.”¹

The position in which the Earl now found himself placed was, above all others, calculated to tempt one of

¹ Earl of Northumberland to Lord Burghley. *Harl. MSS.*, vol. 5, No. 6993, fol. 5.

This letter, as well as the one that follows, is throughout in the handwriting of the Earl.

A D.
1573-81

his temper into complicity in fresh plots. Had he been employed in foreign wars he would doubtless have done his country good service; but England was now at peace, and although the clouds were gathering over her coasts, some years were yet to pass before the storm burst forth. Or had he been restored to full liberty, and permitted to assume his hereditary position in the north, it is probable that a regard for his personal interests would have induced him to justify the confidence placed in him by the Queen. Not only, however, was he condemned to an inactive life in an enlarged prison, but, as he was well aware, Elizabeth still viewed him with suspicion, while her agents watched him with offensive vigilance, and eagerly seized upon every pretext to cast doubt upon his loyalty. It is impossible to hazard an opinion as to whether he was at this time already engaged in Catholic intrigues, but the prolonged visit of an agent of the French Government under his roof, which he thus accounts for, might not unreasonably excite the misgivings of the Court:

"I have hearde of latte that the Queene's Maiestie shoulde be offendyt with me for the being heare of *Mons. de Bex*;* and yet I may not take knowlyche of this for that the same is uttered to me in secrett by a frende. My Lord, I wolde be lothe to do that wyche myght offend hir highnes any way; and for that I wolde desyre your Lordshipp's opinione what were beste for me to do herein. I thought good to make knowne to your Lo. not onely the comynge of Mons. de Bex hether, but allso the cause of his long stay in this plasce. My boye in France hathe beine in great extremyte of siknes and danger of lyffe, and being advertysed thereof I sent

* Seigneur de Preveaux, a Gentleman of the Chamber to the Duke of Anjou, and at this time acting as secretary to M. de Marchemont, the French ambassador in London.

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1532-1585

one of my sarvantes to Mons. Marchemonde, as well to understande if he had any worde in what cass my boye was in, as also to require him to reseve from me one hundrythe poundes, and to causse so myche mony be delyvered to my boye with all the expedissione he myght; for that I knewe his tyme of siknes wolde be chargeble unto him, and lothe I were that he shoulde prove any of that contree for his wante. Hereupon my sarvante delyvered one hundrythe powndes in angelles to Mons. Marchemonde as in way of exchange, who had resavyd at that instante letters frome my sone of summe (?) his recoveryre of helthe; and being withall determyned to geve me knowlyche of his departure and to bide me farewell, sent Mons. de Bex unto me, both with the letters and message.

"The ferste nyght of his comynge hether he was summe thinge sicke; the next daye he wolde have borne it forthe, and wente a hunting with me into my parke and kyllled a bucke; but at super his foode towke him and sense that tyme he never wente forthe of my howse untill yesterdeye in the afternowne, and this daye is he departed towarde the courtte. If any dout that he was not sike, master doctor Jhonssone who was with him contenually cane wytnes the estatte of his body: if I have ussed hime well I did not lowke for blame at hir maiestis' handes therefore, for that favour wyche I showed hime vas cheffly for her hyghnes' causse, and secondly for the honour of my contrie and my owne. hapeninge that acsedente in my howse wyche fell unto hime. Otherways I have no nede to any of France, nor have occassione to deall mych with theme of that nassione. Some frende of myne advysses me to come to the courtte to purge myselfe of this suspessione. I am of contrary mynde, for that there is an owlde proverbe. *who comes uncalled to excusse himeselffe, comes onely*

to accuse himselfe, and I protest by God and his angelles, I ame a cleare man to hir maiestie and my contrie in all my doings, and require but triall with thos that shall informe aganste me."¹

A.D.
1573-84

In the course of the following year the Earl became implicated in Throckmorton's conspiracy, but here again there is no evidence to establish anything beyond fair grounds for suspicion. That he had held conferences with some of the conspirators is certain, but these had been his friends in former times, and his reception of such persons at Petworth, and even his general sympathy with their cause, is compatible with his innocence of complicity in their more criminal designs. The testimony adduced against him is of the most feeble character. One man deposed that he had been employed by the Earl to carry a pack from Petworth to Arundel which was "so weighty that it almost spoilt his horse;" another that "on the day that Arthur Shaftoe's house was searched, the Earl lent his white gelding" to a suspected person; and a third stated that among the conspirators he had "seen somebody disguised in a white frieze jerkin, who might have been the Earl of Northumberland."²

Notwithstanding the absence of incriminating evidence, however, the Earl (as well as his kinsman Lord Arundel) was for some time confined to his house in London and closely watched, and in the following February, on pretence of further revelations having been made, he, Lord Henry Howard, and Throckmorton³ were committed to the Tower, Popham, the Attorney-

¹ Earl of Northumberland to Lord Burghley, Petworth, 25th September, 1552. *Harleian MSS.* vol. v. No. 6993, fols. 16^a and 16^b.

² *Original State Papers*; Record Office.

³ Three applications of the rack had extorted no confession inculpatory of others from this unfortunate man. To the fourth he yielded, but, when at the scaffold, he retracted the words wrung from him in his agony.

A.D.
1532-1585

General, having reported that he could trace Throckmorton's conspiracy "for the liberation of the Scottish Queen and the toleracion of religion" to the Earl of Northumberland.

After repeated examinations, however, no serious charges could be proven against him, and he was once more set at liberty.

Elizabeth, it must be allowed, had good grounds for resentment against one who, after full pardon for former offences, and the exceptional favour she had shown him, had chosen his associates from among her avowed enemies, and openly expressed his sympathy for the cause of her hated rival, the Scottish Queen. Though the proof of actual guilt was wanting and the law could not convict, his sovereign was certainly now justified in declining to retain him in her service, and in requiring him to transfer the custody of so important a post as Tynemouth Castle to other hands.

Against this command he offered the following remonstrance :—

"The Erle of Northumberland most humble beseechethe her Ma^{tie} to pardon him in not yeilding to deliuer ouer to S^r Fra. Russell, knighte, the charge of the Castle of Tinmouthe &c. for the reasons following—

"Firste in respecte that his estate of living is but small to maintaine the Countenance of an Earle, being charged wth ten children, and the benefitte of th'office of Tinmouthe a good portion of his living, wthout the w^{ch} he should be so straightned, as not hable to sustaine th'ordinarie charge of his housekeeping and education of his children.

"Secondlie, that by th'office of Tinmouthe he main-

Linethe xx. of his old seruaunts suche as haue serued him some xxx. some xx. and some x. yeeres, being provided of no other meanes to feede and relieue them but by that office ; and that (if they shoulde be displaced by his relinquishing thereof) they wolde be leste in case to begge their breade, as men neuer trained vpp in anie trade to gett their living but by seruice, wherof bothe hono^r and honestie doe binde him to have speciall care and consideration.

A.D. 1584

"Thirdlie, the disgrace and discredite that will growe vnto him in his owne countrey, by the remooveing of him from the office, w^{ch} he tendrethe asmvche as his life ; and therefore he desirethe her Ma^{tie} to haue tender consideration thereof, and that leaving aside the conceipte of his past disgrace it maie please her gratuslie to call to her remembrance the faithfull seruices he hathe formerlie don bothe to her Ma^{tie}, and to Queene Marye her sister, w^{ch} he intreatethe maie speake for him in this time of his hardest fortune.

"Lastlie, that it maie please her Ma^{tie} not to forgette that at her Highnes instance he resigned to the L. Hunsdon the Castle of Norham wth the benifitte thereof, worthe in value vnto him by the yeere 400 li. at the leaste ; w^{ch} not long before had coste him a greate sume of money, and that he sought not th' office of Tynmouthe, then laide vppon him by her Ma^{tie} wth promise of better preferment in lieu of Norham, and of his willing resigning thereof at her Ma^{ty} requeste." ¹

The Queen was obdurate ; she rejected the appeal, superseded him in the governorship, and in the following December, notwithstanding Lord Burghley's intercession, he was once more arrested on charges of complicity in

¹ Record Office. Calendared in *State Papers ; Addenda* (1580-1625), p. 134.

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1532-1585

rebellious plots. "Yesterday," writes Walsingham, "the Earl of Northumberland was committed prisoner to his own house, under the charge of Sir S. Leighton, for conference with Charles Paget. He confesses the conference, but denies that he knew of any cause for Paget's return to England except to confer with his brother, Lord Paget, on private affairs; but others say that the Earl knew more than this. The Earl of Arundel was also charged with the matter, but denies it. Charles Paget is a most dangerous instrument, and I wish, for Northumberland's sake, he had never been born."¹

To which Stafford (then Elizabeth's ambassador in Paris) replies :

"I am sorry to hear of enterprisers against Queen and State [Northumberland and Arundel]. One I have honoured for himself; the other for nearness of nature: yet if guilty, I wish him (Northumberland) more punished than the other, for he (Arundel) can plead lack of wit for an excuse."²

That the object of Throckmorton and his accomplices was to effect the Scottish Queen's liberation by the aid of French invasion to which the Duc de Guise had pledged himself, would appear to have been conclusively established. That Lord Paget and his brother Charles, as well as the Earl of Arundel, were more or less parties to some such plot is beyond question; but it is noteworthy that throughout the repeated examinations of numerous witnesses and (which is even more conclusive) throughout the intercepted correspondence of those concerned, nothing transpired that could fairly be said to implicate Northumberland, except the unsupported (and

¹ Secretary Walsingham to Sir E. Stafford, 16th December, 1584. *State Papers; Addenda* (1580-1625) p. 131.

² Sir E. Stafford to Secretary Walsingham, 27th December, 1584. *Ibid.* p. 133.

A.D.
1584-85

subsequently retracted) evidence of one witness, under torture. His love of intrigue may have induced him to lend a willing ear to secret schemes and negotiations, but he must, in common justice, be acquitted of any share in the project of foreign invasion,¹ or in any of the supposed plots against the life of Elizabeth. However strong his sympathy with the cause of Mary Stuart may have been, it would appear, at this time, to have expressed itself in vaunting and incautious words, rather than acts indicative of a disposition to make practical sacrifices on her behalf. Of this there is strong evidence under her own hand in an intercepted letter, in which, after mentioning Throckmorton, Howard and Northumberland, she says :

"If you can come, directly or indirectly, at Throckmorton or Howard, *for with the third I have no connection*, assure them in my name that their affection and the great suffering they endure on my account shall never be effaced from my heart."²

The one inculpatory witness referred to was William Shelley who, when on the rack, stated that after the meeting between Lord Paget and his brother Charles at Petworth, on pretence of making a settlement of the family estates, Charles Paget had informed him that the Earl had consented to join them in bringing about an

¹ The criminality of instigating a foreign invasion, of which Throckmorton and others would undoubtedly appear to have been guilty, is somewhat mitigated by the terms of the treaty, under which the Duc de Guise solemnly bound himself, to remove every French soldier from English soil the day after the liberation of the Queen of Scotland.

² Queen Mary of Scotland to M. de Maurissière, 24th February, 1584. *Harleian MSS.*, No. 1582.

The only mention of Northumberland in the numerous letters of Mary's foreign agents occurs in a communication from Morgan, some time her secretary, who, writing from Paris in April 1585, names the Earl as one of her well-wishers, and expresses the hope that she will show him some token of her liberality. Murdin, p. 446.

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invasion for Mary's liberation and to compel Elizabeth to concede toleration to the Catholic religion.¹ This statement was, after Northumberland's death, and when therefore the exculpation could be of no possible benefit to him, solemnly denied by Charles Paget, then himself a free agent in France, who wrote :

"For that William Shelley, as they say, shold confesse that I had revealed to him I had dealt with the Earl herein, as I shall answer to the day of judgment, they say most untruly ; for I never talked with the said Shelley in all my life, but such ordinary talk as the Council might have heard, being indifferent."²

The circumstance most strongly in favour of Northumberland's innocence of the more grave charges brought against him, is that he courted public inquiry, and persistently refused the offers of the royal grace which were made conditional only upon his confessions of complicity in treasonable acts.

Sir Christopher Hatton's declaration on this point is important. The Vice Chamberlain declared before the Star Chamber, that having been sent to the Earl to remind him of the Queen's past goodness towards him, and to "advise him to deliver the truth of the matters so cleerely appearing against him either by his letters privately to Her Maiestie, or by speech. . . ." in which case "he shoulde not onely not be comytted to the Towre but

¹ While they were both in the Tower the Earl had found means of communicating with Shelley, whom he exhorted to show firmness and fortitude when under examination ; to which Shelley replied that he could not answer for himself, since, not being of the same rank as the Earl, he was subject to be put to torture. He was probably of the opinion of the poor prisoner at Rouen, who, about the same, time wrote to Dr. Allen : "It is not, I assure you, a pleasant thing to be stretched on the rack till the body becomes almost two feet longer than nature made it."—See Lingard's *History of England*.

² Charles Paget to Mary Queen of Scots, Paris, 15th February, 1586. *State Papers*.

should finde grace and favour at Her Maiesties hands, in the mitigation of such punishment as the lawe might laye upon him . . . " yet that " neither the hope given unto him of Hir Maiestie's disposition of mercy, nor the consideracion of the depthe and waight of his treasons . . . with the danger thereby like to fall upon him, could once move his heart to the natural and dutiful care of hir Maiestie . . . or to any remorse or compassion of himselfe and his posteritie; but that resting upon the terms of his innocencie, having, as you maie perceive, conueid awaie all those that he thought could or would any waie accuse him, he made choice rather to go to the Towre and abide the hazard of hir maiesties high indignation, and the extremitie of the law for his offences." ¹

The allegation that he trusted to escape conviction in consequence of having succeeded in effecting the escape across the seas of his principal accomplices, is not founded on fact. Of those whose testimony might have been supposed to condemn him, only two, Lord Paget and his brother Charles, had so escaped, while many remained whose evidence, had he been guilty, could hardly have failed to turn the scale against him. Yet from first to last he refused all offers of compromise, and from the time of his final committal to the Tower, his attitude was that of a man who, conscious of having offended, yet knew himself to be innocent of the graver crimes laid to his charge. He had, as he admitted, plotted and worked for the liberation of the Scottish Queen and the toleration of the Catholic faith; but he had not conspired against the Crown, far less against the life of his sovereign. Upon that issue he was willing and anxious to meet his accusers in open court.

He was accordingly once more committed to the Tower,

¹ *A True and Summarie Reporte*, see *ante*, Note, 3, p. 154. This pamphlet is reprinted in Lord Somers's *Tracts*, vol. i. 2nd edition.

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where he lay for six months without any steps being taken to bring him to trial. His supposed accomplices were in the clutches of the law, but neither threats nor persuasion, neither torture nor bribery, could extort from them the evidence of Northumberland's guilt, and it seemed as though he was not unlikely to share the fate of his kinsman, Arundel,¹ and to linger out a long and weary life within his prison walls. But the liberator was near at hand. On the 20th June, the lieutenant of the Tower received an order from the Vice Chamberlain to remove from the Earl's presence the warder who had hitherto attended him, and to substitute one Bailiffe, a servant of his (Hatton's) own. That night the prisoner was found dead in his bed—shot through the heart.

The jury empanelled by the Lieutenant of the Tower to hold an inquest upon the body, arrived at the conclusion that the Earl had died by his own hand;² and, in the ungentle words of a contemporary historian, "it only remained to provide for the bestowing of his wretched carcase, which on the 23rd daie of June was buried in

¹ Arbitrary as were the proceedings in the Star Chamber, there was some pretence of maintaining the forms of law and evidence. Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, who had certainly been more deeply implicated in these plots than Northumberland, was brought to trial, but acquitted of treason and convicted only of having left the kingdom without licence; for which offence he was fined £10,000, and imprisoned in the Tower for life under exceptionally rigorous conditions. The severity of this punishment was doubtless due to the bold nature of his defence; for he admitted that he had gone abroad in order that he might "live in liberty of conscience, which he valued more than a rental of forty thousand a year, fine mansions, or the rank and authority of one of the first peers of the realm."

² The jury found that having by surreptitious means obtained possession of a dag (pistol) the Earl had "bolted his door on the inner side, lest any man should foresee or withstande his devilish intent and purpose; and not having the Almightye God or his feare before his eyes, but being moued and seduced by the instigation of the devil, did discharge the said dag into his bodie and hearte . . . of which he instantlie died."

St. Peter's Church within the said Tower of London. A.D. 1585
 This was the end of that graceless Earl." ¹

No, not quite the end. Many a prisoner had met with a sudden and mysterious death in the Tower, and the public had not dared to ask, perhaps few had cared to know, by what means they had died. The Earl of Northumberland, however, was too conspicuous an individual to be put out of sight without a question, and it is remarkable how universally the suspicion prevailed among all classes that he had come to his end by foul means.

Among the Catholics at home and abroad, as might have been expected, the judgment was unanimous; Elizabeth was openly accused of having instigated the murder of her prisoner (when she found that she could not rid herself of him by sentence of law), in order to intimidate those who supported the cause of a hated rival, and who showed themselves faithful to the religion of their ancestors.² But many Protestants shared in the suspicion, and threw out significant hints, or, when the matter was discussed, maintained an equally significant silence.

Even some of the immediate adherents of Government found it difficult to accept the theory of the Earl's suicide, though willing to persuade others of it. One of these writes :—

¹ Holinshead. A later historian states that the Earl had shot himself in the heart "after an unsuccessful attempt to escape by corrupting his keepers; for his crime upon *conviction would have left no room for mercy*, he being accused of a conspiracy to support an invasion of this kingdom, by that bloody massacer, the Duke of Guise, for the deliverance of the Scotts Queen."—Oldmixon, p. 523. It is not explained why, under these circumstances, the Government persistently declined to bring him to trial. Of the attempt to escape from the Tower no mention is made by contemporary writers.

² Queen Mary's secretary, Thomas Morgan, warns her attendants "to looke well to the person of *her Majesty*," since "the taking away of the Erle of Northumberland is an argument that they (Elizabeth and her ministers) have further mischeife in Hande."—Murdin, p. 452.

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"I receivit your letter of the 21st of this instant, for which I humblie thanke you. The manner of Lord Northumberland's death will *hardlie be believed in this countrie* to be as you have written ; yet I am fully persuaded, *and have persuaded others*, was not otherwise." ¹

So general indeed did these suspicions become, that the Government thought it necessary to offer a public justification ; and to this end a council of ministers and high officers of State, attended by the judges and law officers, was held in the Star Chamber on 23rd June, whose proceedings were published by authority and largely circulated throughout the country.

"Malice," so runs the introductory passages, "among other essentiall properties pertaining to her ouglie nature, hath this one not inferiour to the rest and the worst, *Incredulitie*, wherewith shee commonly possesseth the mindes and affections of all those that are infected with her ; so blinding the eyes and iudgement of the best and clearest sighted, that they cannot see or perceiue the bright beams of the truth, although the same be deliuered with neuer so great puritie, prooffe, circumstance and probabilitie." ²

The document proceeds to represent that notwithstanding the high character of the Jury of Inquisition, "many men reporte varieblie and corruptlie of the maner and matter of this publicke declaration, possessing the minds and opinions of the people with manifest untruthes ; as that the Earle had *been unjustlie detained in prison, without prooffe or iust cause of suspition of treason*, and that he had bene murdered by deuise and

¹ Sir Francis Russell to Walsingham, Tynemouth, 26th June, 1585. *State Papers*. The English ambassador in Paris writes much in the same strain, while the French and Spanish representatives at the English Court report the Earl's death as due to Elizabeth's agency.

² *A True and Summarie Reporte*.

practice of some greate enimies, and not destroyed by himselfe." A.D. 1585

The Lord Chancellor in his opening statement is reported to have said that "The late Earle of Northumberlande for diuers notable treasons and practices by him taken in hande, to the danger not onelie of Her Maiestie's Roiall person, but to the perill of the whole realme, had been long detained in prison; and looking into the guilt of his own conscience, and perceaving by such meanes of intelligence as he, by corrupting of his keepers, and other like deuices, had obtained, that his treasons were by sundrie examinations and confessions discovered,¹ grewe thereby into such a desperate estate, as that thereupon he had most wickedlie destroyed and murdered himselfe . . ." and that as "evil and slanderous reportes" had got abroad on the subject the Queen had required "to have the trueth thereof made knowen" by her Council.

The Lord Chancellor was followed by the Attorney-General, "Maister Attorney Popham," who laid it down that the Earl had had his hand in the rebellion of 1569, and was "as farre plunged into the same as the late Earl his brother, howsoever he wound himselfe out of the danger at that time;" that it had been his object to place Mary on the English throne, that he had been instrumental in the escape of Lord Paget and his brother, and that he was deeply implicated in the plots of these men and their foreign accomplices. Coming to the Earl's death, Sir Roger Manwood, Lord Chief Baron, stated that the usual attendants not being considered trustworthy had been removed, and

¹ This statement is directly at variance with that of Sir Christopher Hatton (see *ante*, p. 167), who attributes the Earl's determination to stand his trial to his belief that there was no evidence forthcoming to convict him.

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that "Thomas Bailiffe, gentleman," had been employed in their place; that on retiring to rest the Earl had bolted his door on the inside, informing his keeper that he could not sleep otherwise; and that at midnight he (Bailiffe) had been aroused from his sleep in the adjoining chamber "by a noise so sudden and so greate, like a falling of some dore, or rather a piece of the house . . . that he started out of his bed, and crying unto the Earle, with a loude voice said, 'My Lord, knowe you what this is?' but receiving no answer he continued his crying and calling until an olde man that lay without spake unto him saying: 'Gentleman, shall I call the watch, seeing he will not speake?' 'Yea,' quoth Bailiffe, 'for God's sake!' Then did the old man rise and called one of the watch, whom Bailiffe intreated with all possible speede to call Master Lieutenant unto him. *In the meane time Bailiffe heard the Earle give a long and most grieuous grone, and after that gave a second grone;* and then the Lieutenant (being come) called to the Earle, who not answering, Bailiffe cried to the Lieutenant to breake open the Earle's chamber dore, bolted unto him on the inner side, which was done, and then they found the Erle dead in his bed, and by his bedside a dagge, wherewith he had killed himselfe."

Lord Hunsdon deposed that he had accompanied a surgeon on the morning after the death to see the Earl's body, and that it was found that "his heart was pearced and torn in diuerse lobes and pieces, three of his ribbes broken, and the spinebone of his back cut almost in sunder." The three bullets with which the pistol had been charged were in his presence cut out of the body, and the surgeon had declared that from the nature of the wounds death must have been instantaneous.

Bailiffe's statement that he had heard the Earl utter two groans while the watch was being called (which

could not have been less than several minutes after the discharge of the pistol¹) must therefore be untrue. A.D. 1585

It appeared in the Report of the Inquest that an attendant of the Earl, James Pryce, yeoman, had on the 16th June preceding the death secretly brought his Lord a pistol with powder and bullets, which had been concealed in the mattress of his bed; but, although this man was then detained a prisoner in the Tower, he was not called before the council to give evidence as to this important fact.²

The argument upon which the Government attempted to rest the theory of suicide is comprised in this sentence of the Report :

“Who can in reason coniecture the Earle to haue bene murdered of pollicie or set purpose, as the euill affected seeme to conceaive? If the Earle had lived to haue receiued the censure of the lawe for his offences, all lewde and frivalous obiections had then bene answered, and all his goodes, chattels, and lands, by his attaindare,³ had come unto Her Maiestie, and the honour and state of his house and posteritie utterly overthrown.”

In short, the contention was that the Earl, convinced that he would be convicted of treason, had taken his life to insure the succession to his son, and to deprive the Crown of the benefits of the forfeiture.

Certain utterances to this effect, in the course of which he is made to refer to Elizabeth in very coarse terms,⁴

¹ According to Bailiffe it was “a little after midnight” when he heard the shot fired, and Sir Owen Hopton, the Lieutenant of the Tower, states that he was called “lesse than a quarter of an hour before one of the clocke.”

² See Howell's *State Trials*, vol. i. 1124.

³ Under an Act of Parliament, 34 Edward III., it was provided that no forfeiture of lands could be made by the Crown or Parliament for treason against dead men, unless they had been attainted during their lives.

⁴ See Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*—“Elizabeth.”

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are attributed to him; but these rest on no better evidence than contemporary gossip; while the fact remains undisputed that the Government could not be induced to bring to trial a prisoner under suspicion, who claimed public inquiry into his conduct as an act of justice, and whose conviction and attainder would have been a triumphant justification of their policy and a severe blow to their enemies.

The proceedings of the council did not satisfy the doubts prevalent in the public mind, even in England, as to the nature of Northumberland's death;^{*} far less did they remove the suspicions, or silence the outcry, of those attached to the memory of the Earl by bonds of kinsmanship or policy, and who being beyond English jurisdiction could give free vent to their indignation at what they openly stigmatised as a foul murder. The weak points in the statement put forth by the Government were eagerly seized upon and ingeniously turned against the authors; and throughout Catholic Europe Elizabeth was denounced by name as the instigator of the crime. The most telling of the numerous pamphlets which appeared on the subject was one published at Cologne towards the end of 1585, entitled "*Crudelitatis Calvinianæ, Exempla duo recentissima ex Anglia,*" in which the Earl's murder is openly ascribed to Elizabeth and Leicester, who are charged with having employed an assassin, after being foiled by the vigilance of a Catholic surgeon in an attempt to poison their prisoner, and of

^{*} Camden, whose leanings were never to the side of Elizabeth's enemies, thus refers to the suspicious circumstances attaching to the employment of one of Hatton's servants as the Earl's custodian: "Certe boni quamplurimi, tum quod natura nobilitati faveant, tum quod præclaram fortitudinis laudem retulisset, tantum virum tam misera et miseranda morte periisse indoluerunt. Quæ suspicaces profugi de Ballivo, quodam ex Hattoni famulis, qui paullo ante Comiti custos adhibitus, mussitarunt, ut parum compertum omitto, nec ex vane auditionibus aliquid intexere visum est."—*Annales*.

seeking to cover their foul deed by trumping up a charge of suicide.¹ A.D. 1585

It is not to be denied that the death of the eighth Earl of Northumberland was attended with suspicious circumstances, some of which the means adopted by the Government for their own vindication served rather to strengthen than to remove. Shocking as the alleged crime appears to us, it must be borne in mind that in that age the life of an individual weighed little in the scale against State policy; and that that "daintiness of conscience" with which Elizabeth reproached Sir Amyas Paulet (while he held the custody of a more illustrious prisoner, whose continued existence was thought incompatible with the public welfare), was not shared by all her ministers or agents.

On the other hand, however, it is difficult to discover any political motive sufficiently powerful to account for the resort to such a crime; and the theory of the Earl having died by his own hand, though in some points difficult to reconcile with the facts as they are stated, is quite within the bounds of possibility.

It is not likely that the mystery will ever be solved; but so deep-rooted was the prevalent suspicion, that when, many years later, a once favoured courtier of Elizabeth's exhorted a rising statesman not to be deterred from his

¹ "Itaque primum Northumbrii vita veneno petita Catholici cujusdam medici opera, liberata fuisse dicitur. Deinde vero post paucos dies cum nulla ægritudine teneretur, nec ulla animi inordinata affectione laboraret, inventus est quadam nocte, in lecto suo occisus, sclopetto per renes et inguinem exonerato; statimque rumor ingens sparsus, et magnis clamoribus per universam Angliam disseminatus fuit, hunc princeps, eo quod Catholicus esset (quorum fidem heretici propterea quod de prædestinatione non presumit, desperationem docere asserunt) et quia multarum proditio-
 num conscius sibi fuerat, sibimetipsi manu propria mortem conscivisse." The pamphlet, a copy of which is in the British Museum, was translated into French, German, English, Italian, and Spanish, and distributed broad-cast over the continent; it has the fault, so commonly found in party publications, of proving too much.

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policy by the fear of "after-revenges" upon his children, since such resentments were not hereditary, he illustrated his argument by the fact that the then living Earl of Northumberland bore no malice to the descendants of his father's murderer.¹

* * *

Of the extensive possessions in twelve counties² of which the eighth Earl of Northumberland died seised a considerable portion had come to him by his marriage with Catherine Neville, who survived him, and by whom he left eight sons, whose careers will be referred to in the course of the succeeding chapter, and two daughters,³ all of whom were specially provided for in his will.⁴

¹ "For after-revenges, fear them not. . . . Humors of men succeed (descend) not, but grow by occasions, and accidents of time and power. For your own father, that was esteemed to be the contriver of Norfolk's ruin, yet his son followeth your father's son and loveth him, (this refers to Thomas Howard, who was restored in blood, and in 1597 summoned to parliament as Lord Howard de Walden). . . . Somerset made no revenge on the Duke of Northumberland's (John Dudley's) heirs," and "*Northumberland that now is thinks not of Hatton's issue.*"—Sir Walter Raleigh to Sir Robert Cecil, 1601, Murdin, p. 811.

² See Appendix VIII.

³ Lucy, married first to Sir John Wotton, and secondly to Sir Hugh Owen of Anglesey; and Eleanor, married to Sir William Herbert, afterwards created Baron Powis.

⁴ Dated a few months before his death. After expressing a wish to be buried in Beverley Cathedral, "if it fortune me to die in the County of York," the Earl assigns various legacies to his sons, and marriage portions to each of his two daughters.

About this period we meet with several cases which illustrate that convenient practice on the part of the relatives, tenants, or retainers of great nobles of leaving a legacy in the form of a child to their feudal lord. Thus Odonel Selby bequeaths his son Ralph to the eighth Earl of Northumberland, "yf it shall please his Honor to taik hym to his service, to serve hym in my place as I have doune his lordships father, and the Erle his late brother, thes sex and thirtie yeres." George Harbotel, in like manner, leaves to his noble kinsman, his son John, "as frely as God gave him unto me, trusting that he will stand good Lord and Maister unto him, whereby he may the better helpe to bring up my childer."—*Durham Wills and Inventories*, Surtees Society Publications.

Yours most assured friend
Northumberland

FACSIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF THE 8TH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

Yours so very assured friend
Northumberland

FACSIMILE OF SIGNATURE OF THE 9TH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.



*Henry 2^d Earl of Northumberland
K. G.*



CHAPTER XII.

Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland, &c.

Born at Tynemouth Castle, May, 1564.
Succeeded to the Earldom, July, 1585.
Died at Petworth, 5th November, 1632.

*Contemporary
English Sovereigns.*
Elizabeth.

James I. *acc.* 1603.
Charles I. „ 1625.



T had already, towards the end of the A.D. 1581
sixteenth century, become the fashion
to complete the education of young
nobles by a course of foreign travel,
and in his eighteenth year Lord Percy
was sent abroad for the enlargement of
his experience and the improvement of his mind and
manners. Lord Burghley had found time, amid his
onerous duties, to provide his young kinsman with a
lengthy letter of advice, which he gracefully acknow-
ledges, assuring the Lord Treasurer that “for the desire
to see me prosper in learning and piety, I am most in-
debted to you after the Queen and my parents. Thanks
for your exquisite and rare counsel, and your directions
for my travels, which I would gladly recompense.”¹

Warned by past experience, the Earl of Northumber-
land had caused his son and heir to be trained in the

¹ Lord Percy to Lord Burghley, Paris, 16th April, 1581. *State Papers.*

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profession of the Protestant faith. He had accordingly received his early education under an English clergyman at the parsonage of Egremont, in Yorkshire; and when he proceeded upon his travels, every precaution was taken to prevent his falling into the hands of the exiled English Catholics, ever on the alert to recruit their rank by the acquisition of converts of rank and position.

Nor was it only his father who showed this solicitude for the spiritual training of the young noble. Elizabeth's agents at foreign courts had been instructed to watch over him and to guard him against the influence of the Papists. It was in obedience to these commands that Sir Henry Cobham, the Ambassador in Paris, officially reported Lord Percy's dangerous intimacy with Sir Charles Paget a notorious Recusant, who had left England some time before under suspicion of complicity in plots for the liberation of Queen Mary.

Paget having been informed of this imputation thus writes to exonerate himself from the charge of tampering with his young friend's religious opinions :

"Since I retired into this secret life, my Lord Percy being lodged not far from me, I have haunted his company, because he not being in a commendable course, either for studies or manners, my poor advice prevailed with him to reform.

"I have been careful not to touch upon matters of religion, knowing that he would greatly dislike persuasion to alter that religion he has been bred up in ; and that my Lord of Northumberland, his father, whose favour I am lothe to lose, would have been offended, and especially that it would kindle her Majesty's displeasure against me.

"Yet my Lord Ambassador of England hath adver-

* The Household Accounts of the eighth Earl of Northumberland for the years 1575-79 (*Syon House MSS.*) contain several entries of payments to this clergyman, one Thompson, as Lord Percy's tutor.

tised some of the Council in the worst sense he can of my resort to his lordship, thinking thereby to procure my Lord Percy the displeasure of his friends. Pray let there be no harsh interpretation made of Lord Percy by his friends, or of me by anybody else."¹

Lord Percy himself, by his letters to Walsingham and to his father,² confirms Paget's statements :—

"Righte honorable, I doe vnderstande that Sir Henry Cobham, Ambassador here for her Maieste, hathe not long agoe informed your Honnor, both against me and Mr. Pagett, for conuersing some tymes one with the other, and that Mr. Pagett should not onelie seeke to dissuade me from the Religion I have been nowrissed and bredd upp in, but also deale with me in vndewtifull Practises. When I hard of this Manner of my Lo: Ambassadors procedinge, it greued me very muche, in respect I stode in doubtte, by reason of his place, what force his Aduertisment might carie against me, to bringe me in Disgrace with her Maieste, and Displeasure with my Lo: my Father, both whiche thinges I will euer seeke [to avoid] by all possible meanes, as that I am bounde vnto by the Lawes of God, Nature and Raison. But when I better aduised my selfe, my grieffe began to diminish, bycause I remembred your Wisdome and Indiferencie to be suche, as that this bare Reporte of my Lo: Ambassador, grounded without Reason or Trewth, should not be imparted to any by your Honor to my hurte, vntil suche tyme as you harde what I could say in my Defence. And therefore hauinge this good Occasion presented vnto me by the comminge of my Lo: my Fathers man, who is sent of pourpose by his Lo: to

¹ Sir Charles Paget to Secretary Walsingham, Paris, 4th March, 1582. *State Papers*.

² Lord Percy to Secretary Walsingham and to the Earl of Northumberland [Holographs]. *Original State Papers*, Record Office. *Addenda*, *Ellis*², vol. 27, No. 66 and 67.

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me, with charge as I tender my Dewtie towards him to signifie all thinges in Trewth vnto his Lo: I could not lett slipp the same, but in like sorte by thes lines declare vnto your Honor that Mr. Pagett did sometymes resorte vnto me, of whom I haue neuer harde other speches then becommeth a dewtifull Subiect to her Maieste, and great Wellwiller to me. Assuringe your Honor that if he had delte with me in other termes, either for matters of Religion or otherwise, I wold not haue allowed of his Companie, but hated his Person. Neuertheles when I heard by my Lo: Ambassador suche harde Construction of Mr. Pagett his Resorte to me, bycause I wold haue it appear how loth I wold be to doe anie thinge that might anie way shake me in the Fauor of her Maieste, I prayed Mr. Pagett to forbear my Companie. Whiche verie willinglie he yeelded vnto, and as soone as he coulde prouide him a lodging farther from me, he presentlie remoued. The Desire I saw in Mr. Pagett to haue her Maiesties Fauor, whiche did appear vnto me by his retired Life, as also that he did lett me vnderstand how your Honnor was a meane to her Maiestie for her gracious Fauor towards him, and said he mighte haunte suche as were here ouer with Licence. made me the better to accept of his Companie. So that thes thinges beinge looked into with an equall eye, and nothinge written by me but that shalbe iustified to the Shame of anie that shall say to the contrarie, I truste your Honor will close vpp thes Reports in suche sorte as I may holde the gracious Fauor of her Maieste, the good Concepte of your Honor with the rest of my good Friendes; and that your Honor will warne the Ambassador not to be from henceforth so credulous without cause. In the doinge wherof I shall thinke my selfe greatlie bounde vnto yow, as I doe allredie for the fauorable reporte I vnderstand yow haue giuen of me heretofore

EXPLANATIONS.

to her Maiestie, which I will not forgett to acknowledge A.D. 1582
as God shall giue me Power. Vnto whom I committ
your Honor and all your Affaires. From Paris the 5 of
Aprill 1582.

“ Your honors assured Freind

“ H. PERCY.”

“ It maye pleas your Lo : I have receyued your Letters
of the 2. of March, by your Lo : Seruante, and am verie
sorie to vnderstand the Disquietnesse you ar broughte
into by meannes of an Aduertisement giuen by my Lo :
Ambassador of England against me and Mr. Pagett ;
who he surmiseth shoulde goe aboute to alter me in
Religion, and practise with me in matters offensive to her
Maiestie. I assure your Lo : that neither th'one nor
th'other is trew, and that Mr. Pagett hathe allwayes in my
sight caried him selfe as dewtifullie in Speech and Action
(for his priuate opinion in Religion I speake not of) as is
to be wisched, otherwise in no respect wold I haue
enterteyned his Companie. And for mine owne perticular
I haue found my selfe greatly beholdinge vnto him, as to
one that verie freindlie and carefullie tendred my well-
doinge, euer aduising me to preserue my selfe in the
gracious Fauor of her Maiestie, and in your Lo : good
Conceipte by all obedient meanes. So soone as I harde
what Course my Lo : Ambassador had taken against me
(whiche is thre weekes agoe) I presentlie went vnto
him, being desirous to satisfie him in Trewth, and offred
to conforme my selfe to anie Course that he should wishe
me vnto. But my goode Meaninge was refused by him
with the verie appassionate Speeches, whiche were neither
agreable to the Place (in my humble opinion) he beareth,
nor the Freindshippe he semed to professe vnto me. I
did finde by the Conference I had with his Lo : his In-
clination more redie to take holde of false Accusations

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against me then of the trew Allegations I broughte in my defence. In whiche Minde his Lo : may perhappes still rest, bycause he will thinke it muche to his Discreditt yf it should be knowen he hath aduertised Vntrewthes against me. And therfore it is to be feared he will by all Deuice fortifie the Course he hathe begon. But as by Gods Grace he shall neuer herein haue any sure Ground to worke upon, so doe I most humblie beseche your Lo : with the helpe of your good Freindes in Courte, to meete with suche Practises as shall comme from him with intention to hurte me. Wherof I nothings doubte so longe as I kepe myselfe in dewtiful and loyall tearmes towards her Maiestie, and Obedience towards your Lo ; not meaninge (with Gods helpe) euer to faile herein, what soeuer by mine Enimies shalbe said to the contrarie. The Bearer, your Lo : Seruante, can informe yow in all thinges more particular, and therefore, with the Rembraunce of my most humble Dewtie to your Lo : and my La : my Mother, I leaue for this tyme to troble your Lo : anie further. From Paris, the 5 of Aprill 1582.

“Your Lo : most humble and obedient Sonne

“H. PERCY.”

It would appear that the English Ambassador had allowed his zeal to outrun his judgment ; for, on being required to justify his charges, he disclaimed any intention of reflecting upon Paget, but thought he would only do his duty in reporting that gentleman's intimacy with the young lord, in consideration of his being “a principal personage in the Realm,” and having been specially recommended to his care by Lord Burghley.

The Earl of Northumberland was at this time so much under suspicion of sympathy with the Catholic party that he had strong reasons for desiring to prevent his son

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from becoming involved in the wide-spread and perilous intrigues of the exiled English in France and in the Low Countries. Not content with the official inquiry, he now sent a confidential servant to Paris, who, having, according to Paget, examined Lord Percy and himself before worthy witnesses, would, he felt assured, "bring back such a report as should breed contentment."¹

In the following year the young Lord is mentioned as being a favoured suitor for the hand of "Lady Kitson's daughter," and shortly after his name occurs in connection with a higher matrimonial project; but as the Lady Arabella Stuart was then only in her eighth or ninth year, no importance was probably attached to rumours which, at a later period, were treated as of public interest.

One of the many secret agents employed abroad by Elizabeth reports, shortly after the old Earl's death, that the Duc de Guise was preparing a formidable expedition for the invasion of the North of England, and that the two sons of the late Earl of Northumberland intended to accompany him.² However little truth there may have been in such rumours, there is no doubt that for some years after his accession apprehensions were very generally entertained as to the sympathies of the young Earl with the party in whose cause his father and uncle had died. Sir George Carew (Master of the Ordnance in Ireland, afterwards Earl of Totness), an old friend of the family, had, it would seem, warned him against the danger of connecting himself with the enemies of his country, upon which subject he remarks:—

"I have known of late your good Conceit of me, which I desire no longer than that you shall find me grateful or give cause for Continuance.

"The matter we last spoke of touched me so nearly that

¹ Charles Paget to the Earl of Northumberland. *State Papers*.

² Thomas Rogers to Secretary Walsingham, August, 1585. *Ibid*.

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upon weighing the Effects, and with the view *to satisfy my present Discontent*, no way is so convenient as the first Resolution.

"You need not fear that my Mind will alter ; my Resolutions once determined are not so quickly revoked."

This "present discontent" evidently refers to the writer's share in the prevalent suspicions on the nature of his father's death in the Tower. There is a marked reserve in his only recorded reference to the event many years later, but it is not unreasonable to believe that this early sorrow preyed upon his mind, and cast a lasting shadow over his life ; to which the alternate fits of sadness and restlessness, of cynicism and aggressiveness, which marked his career, may be attributable.

The Catholic party, for whom as such he had little sympathy, were not likely to fail in working upon such feelings. By kindling his smouldering resentment into open enmity to the English Crown, they secured the most effectual means of winning him over to their cause ; and in spite of the "Resolution" which, in deference to the advice urged upon him by Sir George Carew, and other of his friends, he had formed, they long continued to indulge in such hope. Even five years later one of Lord Burghley's foreign spies writes :—

"The present Earl of Northumberland, *who is in Discontent about his father's death*, may be seduced to the See of Rome."

The young Earl, who had barely attained his majority when he succeeded to his great inheritance, although exceptionally cultivated and accomplished, was but ill-fitted for the exercise of the practical duties and responsibilities which so suddenly devolved upon him. He had been

¹ Earl of Northumberland to Sir George Carew, June, 1587. *Calendar of Carew MSS*, in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth. Vol. II. p. 444.

² Paul Crushe to Lord Burghley, March, 1592. *State Papers*.

deeply attached to his father, and, the only influence to which his wilful temper had hitherto deferred being withdrawn, he appears to have given way to that impetuosity and impatience of control which formed serious blemishes in a kindly and generous nature, and to which many of his troubles and misfortunes in after life are traceable. A.D. 1585

Among the beneficial influences of Elizabeth's tastes and character upon her people must be counted the impetus given to the cultivation, not only of more refined outward habits and observances, but of intellectual pursuits, among all who aspired to success at Court or in the public service.

No pains had been spared by the sagacious old Earl of Northumberland to give his heir that higher education which the age demanded, while carefully training him in the various arts and accomplishments considered befitting in a youth of his rank. Of the duties relating to the management and administration of large estates, and of the obligations towards his numerous dependants, he had, however, been left in absolute ignorance; and on his accession he felt himself painfully conscious of his incapacity to act upon his own responsibility.

In his *Instructions to my Son*, written a quarter of a century later, he bitterly reproaches himself with his own early follies and wastefulness, which he mainly attributes to defective training:

"If ever father loved a son he did me; yet," he complains, that the old Earl, "either to cause obedience in keeping me under, or to hinder prodigall expence in some tryfles," had kept him in complete ignorance of family affairs and domestic details; that he was thus driven to trust the most important matters to servants whose honesty or capacity he was unable to estimate,¹

¹ "I knewe not where I was or what I did, till out of my meanes of £3000 yearly I had made shifte, in one yeare and a halfe, to be £15000 in debt; so as the burden of my song, must still conclude

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and easily became the dupe and victim of knaves and parasites, whose only object it was to enrich themselves at his expense.¹

He appears, however, before long to have mastered the difficulties of his position, and to have acted with vigour and justice as a great landowner. In a letter of 24th November, 1593, he informs Mr. Fenwick, his chief constable at Alnwick, that through the negligence of his stewards and clerks the court rolls and records in the North were "not kept in due and honest sort, to the great confusion of my poor Tenants' Estates, and to my own great Loss and Dishonour;" and he severely blames him for having evicted a widow from her farm, "especially at a Time when her Corn was still standing; it was extreme, and not according to the Customs of the Country, that she should be expelled. Wherefore I require that the old Woman should be reinstated to her former Estate, and that the true and ordinary Course of Law in my Country may proceed and determine in these Cases."²

In the documents relating to the expenditure of the young noble, which have been preserved in the family,³ we can trace his early love of literature, and of those desultory studies which served so well in after life to alleviate the pains of a long captivity. We here find entries of considerable sums expended in the purchase

ignorance in myne estate to be the mayn cause."—Earl of Northumberland's "*Instructions to my Son.*"

¹ An old displaced officer of the family writes: "I am little sorrowful at losing the Earl of Northumberland, who so little esteemed thirty years' service and preferred one of no desert and a month's standing before me. I will never serve under that subject that accounts so small of me as he has done, and he shall know that I am able to live in my country without him."—Cuthbert Collingwood to Honorable . . . Anderson, 11th February, 1586. *State Papers*. This is the same Collingwood of whom the eighth Earl spoke in such high praise in his letter to Lord Burghley. See *ante*, p.156.

² *Alnwick MSS.*

³ *Syon House MSS.* These rolls form an unbroken, though incomplete, series of rough statements of personal expenditure from 1585 to 1616, and are full of interesting detail.

of books, the titles of which show the extent and the diversity of his reading. Among the heterogeneous acquisitions to his library, immediately after his accession to the earldom, we meet with such works as Guicciardini's *History*, *Discourses on War*, Machiavelli, *Académie Cantabrigiensis Lacrymæ*,¹ Musculus' *Common Place Book*, Bullinger's *Decades*, Hollingshead's *Chronicle*, *The Pilgrimage of Princes*, *Anagrams*, *The Death of Philip Sidney*, and the *Offences of the Queen of Scots*.

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1585-1590

In subsequent years the expenditure under this head becomes much larger, and we meet with charges for binding and cataloguing books at Syon, and for searching records in the Tower of London; while there is frequent mention of works on architecture, gardening, and military science, as well as of maps, globes, and astrolabes.

Among other payments illustrative of his habits and tastes, we find £12 to Mr. Hubbard for a picture of Madame Dundragoe, although a brother artist, Hilliard,² received only £3 for his portrait of the Earl himself, and the former Earl's picture was painted for fifty shillings.³ The sum of £24 is paid for "the antique pictures of the Roman Emperors," and "£3, for four frames for carrying pictures to Petworth."

That predilection for occult science which he retained through life is already indicated by two entries, one being the purchase of a "speculative glass," i.e. a crystal globe, used for the purpose of reading the future, and the other a

¹ A curious collection of Latin and Greek verse by members of Cambridge University on the death of Philip Sidney, including a composition by King James the Sixth. The volume was published in 1587.

² This is the Richard Hilliard or Hillyard who subsequently obtained a licence from King James the First to "moent, make, grave and imprint any picture of our image or our royal family" for a period of twelve years.—See Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*.

³ Half a century later Peter Lely was supposed to have received an exorbitant reward when he was paid £30 for a full-length picture of Charles the First and the Duke of York.

A.D.
1564-1632

fee of forty shillings, "to the Demonstrator touching your Lordships great jewel that was stolen," evidently a reward for the discovery of the thief by means of clairvoyance.

He was amongst the first in England to set the fashion of smoking, for it was but a few years before that Raleigh had introduced tobacco, large payments for which, as well as for pipes, occur in the accounts.

A more costly fashion to which he was addicted was play, his losses at which, to Sir Walter Raleigh and others, amounted, in 1586, to nearly £1,000.¹

Among other curious entries we meet with these :—

"To Sir Carey Raleigh's man for making one of the Earl's horses to amble, and teaching Raufe Yates, his groom, to do the like, 70 shillings.

"To the French Ambassador's cook for instructions to his own cook, 40 shillings."

"For a licence to eat flesh in Lent, 40 shillings.

"To a Dutchman for 100 quince trees, 24 shillings."

"For a pair of popinjay green stockings and nine pairs of other silk stockings, £18 14s." Fees, ranging from 10s. to 20s., for being bled are of frequent occurrence; as also charges for gardening at Syon House, where, in 1603, he entertained the King at a banquet at a cost of £168 10s. 3d.

The Earl owned the town house which his father and uncle had occupied, situate on the west side of St. Andrew's Hill, Blackfriars, opposite the Church of St. Andrew's Wardrobe,² and adjoining a house

¹ Twelve years later he is mentioned as being "a complete courtier and familiar with Sir Walter Raleigh at cards." *Sydney Papers*, ii. p. 150. Among his losses at play we find the sum of twenty shillings for a game of chess with the Earl of Rutland.

² There is an entry in the accounts for 1598 of a fee of twenty or shillings paid the Surveyor of the City of London "for taking a view of Northumberland House, and setting down in order where his neighbours had done him any wrong by encroaching." Twenty years later we find

belonging to Shakespeare and mentioned in his will.¹

A.D.
1585-1590

Fashion, however, was beginning to set westward, and in 1590 the Earl hired Russell House in St. Martin's Field, near Charing Cross, for £60 a year. Shortly after the accession of James he bought Walsingham House for something over £2,000.²

During the stormy and unsettled lives of his uncle and his father, their residences in the north had been allowed to fall into decay, and after their deaths had been so completely rifled of the contents that, as he quaintly expresses it :—

"I came to be an Earl of Northumberland soe well left for moveables, as I was not worth a fyer shovel or a paire of tonges. What was left me was wainstcoates revited with nails; *for wyfes commonly are great scratchers after their husband's death, if things be loose.*"³

This undutiful reflection upon his mother is not the only indication of the bad terms upon which they lived; and the following letter of remonstrance from the widowed Countess of Northumberland to Lord Burghley, though in some respects exaggerated (notably so as regards the strictures upon her daughter's suitor and

him complaining to the Lord Mayor of a title pretended by the Aldermen of London to the garden attached to this house, "which garden I sold to Mr. Chamberlain, and I thought good rather to satisfy you concerning the title than that there should be any unnecessary suit for the same. That I, and those from whom I claim, have quietly enjoyed the House with the upper and lower garden without interruption for the space of 100 years at least, is manifest."—*Original State Papers.*

¹ "That messuage or tenement with the appurtenances wherein John Robinson dwelleth, situated, lying and being in the Blackfriars in London near the Wardrobe."—*The Last Will and Testament of William Shakespeare.*

² We learn from an entry in the account rolls at Syon that the Earl at this time also had a house at Barking.

³ *Instructions to my Son.*

A.D.
1564-1632

future husband, who ever bore the reputation of an honourable gentleman), certainly presents the young Earl in no favourable light :—

“ My good Lord, I was wise to waite vpon your Lordship at yo^r Howse, but could not finde yo^r Lp. at home, whereby I am enforced to complaine vnto you in writinge my great Disquiett and Discomfort. I have long seene the disordered Lif of my Sonne the Earle, and, asmuch as a Mother might out of whose rule he knewe himself, pswaded the Amendement. But now, pceavinge to my great Greif that he regardeth neither Parent, Frende, nor Kinsman, and lacketh Grace to governe himself like one of his callinge, I make vnto yo^r Lp. my most humble Request that it maie please yo^r Lp. to be well enformed of his Mann^r of Lif, and nowe of his Behavior towards me, that when I shall offer the same to the wholle Councell, yo^r Lp. maie be the redier to iudge and see Redresse of the Wrong and Disgrace he hath don me, and to take some course for correcting his mispendinge, and misordered Lif, soe as he might hereafter be able to serve the Quenes Ma^{tie} and his Countrey; and that I maie be put in better Assurance of Quiett in myne owne Howse, growinge into Yeres and Sicklines. My Sonne hath taken to his speciall Companion Mr. John Wotton, not with standeinge he had knowen before his enterteyninge of his Sister, my eldest Daughter, in Love and Follies, whereof six or seaven Monethes since I warned him againe by my l^res, whereunto he made a short and slaught Aunswere. Within theis fewe Daies by diligent Care had of this Enterteynement of Love, not Love but his desier and hope to gett Money by the gettinge of her, a l^re was intercepted, wherein appeared there had ben practise to entice my Daughter to an Assuraunce, and since, by the ptie about whome the letter was taken, confessed, that she should have ben pswaded in some

eveninge downe to the Gate, and there before two Gentlemen fitt for such a Councell contracted unto Mr. Wotton, a Man of noe Livinge, of evill Name, and more then double my Daughters Yeres. Yet the Plott went further, howe by meanes of some highlie in the quenes favor I should be forced (the Contract beinge once past,) to geve him two or three Thousande Pounds with her. Whereof he beinge disappointed by the Discou'ie of this Ire, he hath threatned Revenge vppon my Servaunts, and namelie vppon my Steward, who openlie in Pawles he reviled, and threatned to thrust his Dagger in him had he ben out of the Church. The next daie followinge this Behavio^r of Mr. Wottons, cometh my Sonne (after he and Mr. Wotton had supped at Arrundells together) to my Howse, and p^rtendinge for Curtesie to see me, tarryinge a smalle while, and vsinge almost noe Words to my self, he departed. On whome nowe, as he accustomed, my Cosen Frauncis Fitton (his fathers Cosen Jermaine, and cheif Dealer in matters of his livinge as still he is for me), wayted on him downe into the Hall, where, without any cause knowne or worde spoken, he drew his Rapier (which he seldome vseth to carry, but of purpose that night), strake at him, beinge in his Night Gowne, amased at the matter, cutt his Head, and brake his Rapier vppon his Arme, havinge nothinge to defende his life withall but his handes, till at length some of my Servantts rescued him. Since w^{ch} nights Behavio^r, beinge Saturdaie last, he hath come by my Gate wth Mr. Wotton, and in scorne asked for Mr. Fitton, bravinge and storminge the rest of my Servants that attended at my Gate. And after Supper cominge by, caused a Page to rapp at the Gate, asking in more scornes whether he might come in or noe.

"This hath ben my Sonnes and his Companions behavio^r iustly and truly sett downe, and the cause of it

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(I saie) onelie this matter and Quarrell of Wotton to my men, and to my Kinsman Mr. Fitton, whome he suspected did my Comandement in takinge of a badd Boy (who once served me) the Carrier of these līes betwene him and my Daughter, for in all his Lif my Cosen Fitton hath never offended my Sonne that ever he or I can tell of.¹ Nowe humblie I besech yo^r Lp. to consider the Wronge that this Wotton hath gon aboute to doe me, the Howse, and my vnfortunate Daughter, nowe to my Servants; and next the Vnnaturallnes of my Sonne takinge his newe Companions part against his owne Mother, whose Lief belike he desirs to shorten with Greif if he cannott doe it otherwise, and howe unkinde and vndiscrette he is to be content to cast awaie his Sister into Beggerie and Want, to please his newe Acquaintaunce. Hopinge y^t for the Howse sake (though it hath ben vnfortunate) as for comon Example of outragious Misorder, and Contempt of me his Mother, your Lp. and the rest of my Lords, when I shall exhibitt my Peticōn, will take some Order w^{ch} maie in tyme to comē be good for him, yf euer he will be good. Thus even hartely greved I take my leave of yo^r Lp. From my Howse in S^t Martyns this ffifte of December 1587.

“Yo^r Lp. assured frende

“K. NORTHUMBERLAND.

“I had forgotten to declare vnto yo^r Lordship howe on Sundaie last came to my Howse diu^s Citizens of good will, warninge my Folkes to beware of Cominge forth of my Howse, for that Streets were laid by Mr. Wotton, and namely for Legg my Steward. And within lesse then

¹ The cause of offence, which the lady expresses herself at a loss to account for, was doubtless the fact that the Earl disapproved of his mother's intention to confer her hand upon this “Cosen Fitton,” a son of her late husband's Auditor and Receiver, whom she married shortly after the date of this letter. See note to Appendix VIII.

half an Hower came one Forrest, a Man of my Sonnes, into my Howse, gevinge Warninge that this Legg, my man, should not goe forth to waite vpon me, for that Streates were laid for him by Mr. Wotton, his Men and Frends."¹

In the following year the young Earl found a more healthy and legitimate outlet for his aggressive instincts. Elizabeth's open support of the oppressed Protestants in the Low Countries, and the blow inflicted upon the Catholic party by the execution of Queen Mary of Scotland, had led to a declaration of war by Spain, whose fleet, the Invincible, now threatened our shores. It needed but this danger and this insult, to impel all England to rise as one man, and the great nobles vied with one another in the extent of their contributions to the national defence.² Foremost among those who at their own cost built, equipped, and manned vessels of war, and who in return for these sacrifices demanded only the right to fight the Queen's enemies under Drake and Howard, we find the Earl of Northumberland.³ To attack as well as to resist the haughty Spaniard, triumphantly balked of his expected prey, now became the prevailing fashion; and the Queen smiled approvingly upon expeditions which, if successful, not only added to

¹ *Original State Papers*, Record Office, *Domestic, Elizabeth*, Vol. 206, No. 9.

² These private contributions to the cost of defence were of inestimable value, since, even at this critical moment, when the very existence of the English nation depended upon the result, Elizabeth's parsimony threatened to neutralise the courage of her sailors and the patriotic efforts of the people. But for the tempest that opportunely swept over the Channel, the Spanish Fleet, though defeated, might have regained foreign ports comparatively unharmed, in consequence of the failure of ammunition, over the outlay upon which the Queen had haggled with her Ministers.

³ "A great many of the young nobility and gentry entered themselves as volunteers in the navy, hired ships at their own expense, and from a zeal to serve their country joined the grand fleet in vast numbers, among which were the Earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland."—Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii. 532.

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the honour of England, but generally involved large contributions of treasure to the exchequer, but which might be disavowed, or even punished, in case of failure.

The Earls of Essex and Cumberland, Rutland and Southampton, Lords Grey and Rich, and Sir Walter Raleigh, were conspicuous among the commanders who scoured the seas and captured Spanish ships in their own ports. Of Northumberland there is no special mention in these raids, but some formidable items in his accounts prove that he took a lively interest, if not an active part, in the adventures of the freebooters.

He appears at this time to have been in high favour with the Queen,¹ who in 1591 restored him to the Governorship of Tynemouth Castle, and two years later created him a Knight of the Garter.²

¹ The Earl's name occurs with much regularity among the donors and recipients of royal new years' gifts, and he appears to have had a taste for artistic jewelry.

In 1589 he presented Her Majesty with "one jewel of golde like a lampe, garnessed with sparks of diamonds and one oppall," and ten years later with "one carcanett of golde, conteynge nine square peeces, four pendants like mulettes and half moones, garnished with sparkes of dyamondes, rubyes and pearles, threaded betweene." The value of these gifts seems to have increased year by year, rising from £40 in 1586 to £200 in 1601, the entry for which year runs thus:

"For Her Majesty's New Yeer's Gift, an embroidered peticote provided by Lady Walsingham, and for a jewel to Her Majesty, bought of Mr. Spilman, the Queen's jeweller, £200."—*Rolls, Muniment Room, Syon House*. The Queen's return gifts generally consisted of from twenty to thirty ounces of gilt plate.—See Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. iii. pp. 2 and 446.

² The fees paid at the instalment are entered in the Account Rolls at Syon House as follows:

Mr. Dethick, garter	£46	14	8
The Dean of Windsor	28	0	0
Mr. Yorke and the other heralds	41	13	4
Mr. Bowyer, for fees to officers of Her Majesty's House	41	17	6
	£158	5	6

In the following year there is a further entry of "£20 to a King-at-arms for bringing the Patent of the Order."

George Peele, a popular poetaster of those times, took advantage of the occasion to print a composition entitled *The Honour of the Garter*, which he dedicated to the Earl of Northumberland, of whom frequent mention is made in the course of his high-flown rhymes in celebration of that noble order :—

A.D. 1593.

“But specially in honour of those five,
That at this day this honour have received
Under Elizabeth, England's great Sovereigne,
Northumberland and Worcester, noble Earls
Borough and Sheffield, Lords of lively hope,,
And honorable old Knollys famed for his Sons,
And for his service gracious and renowned.”

The poet thus exhorts his immediate patron :—

“Young Northumberland,
Mounted on Fortune's wheel, by Virtue's aim
Become thy badge, as it becometh thee,
That Europe's eyes thy worthiness may see !”

The following letters addressed “to my Honorable good friend, Sir John Pickering, Knyght, Lord Keeper of the Great Seale of England,” show that the earl did not live upon the most friendly terms with his southern tenantry :

“My very good L: synce the receipt of your Lrds, and Peticion exhibited by the Tenaunts of my hono^r of Petworth, unto whose uniust Complaints according to the truth I answered, albeit not in such aggravating manner as iust cause required, yet nevertheless (tendering as by all dewe Constructions may be gathered theire said petition for Reformacion of Injuries offered by me) they have oftsoones renewed theire secrett and rioutious pulling downe in the night season, by themselves and accomplices my Pales and Inclosures, as well of those

¹ The value which the Earl attached to these adulatory verses is attested by the following entry in the accounts for 1593 :

“Deliver to Mr. Warnour, at my Lord's appointment, to give to one George Peel, a poett, as my Lord's liberalitie, £3.”—*Syon House Rolls*.

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Lands in Questeon before you in the Chainciry (whereof my Father and self have hadd quiett possession by the space of this syxtene yeres or therabouts) as of my owne Freehold and Demesnes, no whitt Touched by the said Controversie. All w^{ch} Abuses no whitt remembered, they have over and besides in violent mañer broken and entred those Conduit Howses and hedds apperteyning & by mere charge belonging to my Howse, stopped and restrayned the Water for my necessarye use, supposing the same theire lewde Behavio^r not to come to light, and themselves by their unwise Exclamacons to receive Favor. For Regard & wherof I thought good to advertise yo^r L : to th'end you may censure accordingly. And soe wth my hartie Comendacions I bidd y^w Farewell. From my Howse of Pettworth this xxjth of July, 1592.

“Your Lo. very assured Freind,

“NORTHÜBERLÄD.”

“My verie good Lo : I am informed of yo^r kinde and iust Dealinge betwene my Tenaunts & me, for w^{ch} I most hartelie thanke yo^w, restinge ever readie to requite the same wherinsoever I may. Touching the points allreadie heard I do willinglie agree unto yo^r Order for the Comon & the two yeares fine (albeit I cold content myselfe wth lesse), yet for that I wold not alter it to the Preiudice of my selfe & Successors I leave it to yo^r Consideracon. For the other mattere of theyre Cöplaint I am willinge to deale better wth them (reservinge alwaies the Propertee of my Right), than theyre Usage towards me doth anie waie deserve. Neverthesse till by some iudiciall Censure theyre mynds bee altered as touchinge theyre supposed Wronge (whereof no one point of theyre Cöplaint toucheth anie dealinge by myselfe), I see they will not take anie thinge thankfully at my Handes. And therefore I wold

praie y^r L. to iudge betwene us & heare the rest of theyre Cōplaint; & then I doubt not, but such Offere as I shall deliver to yo^r L. will be a sufficient Testimonie & Satisfaction of my better Regard towards them, than they have deserved, considering theyre Clamo^{res}, wth w^{ch} & the like you are dailie acquainted. Yet if yo^r L. shall thinke the Causes too longe or troblesome for the Court, I shalbe then well contented (if it maie so stand wth y^r L. likinge) that two Judges do heare the rest of the points & certifie the same to yo^r L., and then will I after hearinge deliver Offeres likewise unto you, such I hope, as shalbe most reasonable, and if yo^r L. wold I shold nominate one Judge, I do appointe Mr. Malmesley for me. So refering myselfe & the Cause wholly to your honorable Cosideracon, I take my Leave of yo^r L. From my House at London, this 8th Nov., 1594.¹

In December, 1594, the Queen complied with the Earl of Northumberland's petition to be discharged of the fine of 5,000 marks which had been imposed upon his father by the Star Chamber in 1573.²

In the meantime the raids on the northern borders continued as frequent and as destructive as ever, as we learn from this report from Lord Eure, the warden of the Middle Marches:—

"My verie good Lord, I am sorie I have not to acquainte your Lordship with better tydings then the, which necessarilie I must now deliver your Lordship; Att my furst entrie, on Tewsdaie before Newyeresdaie last, the Burnes, Youngs and Mowes, with xxvij horsses, came to your Lordships Towne hard by Alnwick called

¹ *Harl. MSS.* Nos. 6995, fol. 75 and 6996, vol. 115, p. 1.

² *State Papers.* By the Royal Warrant the Earl was relieved from the whole claim, less about £200—probably the court fees and law expenses—as also of "all escheats, seizures and executions on his lands for the said sum."

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Rugley, and there brake up the dooers of two of your Lordships Tenants, and tooke from them xl^{ti} Cattel and Horse 4. They contynewed in the Towne twoo howers or thereabouts. The fray came to Alnewick towne, the common Bell was rounge, and there was in S^r John Forsters house many Strangers, that nighte. In his stable xxx^{ti} horsses, as M^r Fenwicke, your Lordships Cunstable, saieth, two bands of footte from Barwicke, captaine Carvell his fyftie, Captaine Twyford his companie of other fyftie. Yett none rise to the ayde of your poore Tenants, but two men of S^r William Reades, and one Roger Fenwicke, servant to M^{rs} Bednell, so that the goods were not rescued.

“And one other of your Lordships Tenants in that Towne, to whose house they came, was by the Burnes saved from deathe and spoile, whereuppon the Youngs quarrelled with the rest ; yett in all this space, noe ayde came, neyther in the whole cuntrie had they anie helpe.

“The satterday after new yeres daie these Youngs, not satisfied with there former facte, came with xxv horse and spoiled the whole towne, save one Salkeld, that married Richard Forster’s syster, kinseman to S^r John Forster, and att that tyme, the cuntrie did rise and by chaunche did not finde the Trod, so that the cattle went there ways. This misfortune your Lordships tenants had, and this smale helpe.

“I beseeche your Lordship acquainte the LLs. herewith, as I will myself, and lett yt not be kepte from the Queen ; for yf your Lordship seeke not, according her majesties Law, to gett remidie for this, the Cuntrie will not ryse neyther for your Lordships tenants nor the Queens ; and S^r John Forsters falt, a layt wardaine and so well accompayned y^e firste night, would be agravated to the full for example.

“Your Lordship may easelie Judge the cause of your

Tenants spoile, and I assure your Lordship Mr Fenwicke telleth me, that amonge all your Tenants he cannot show me xij able Horses, so pittifull is there Estate, and standeth need of your Lordships present Helpe, all which referringe to your honorable Wisdome. Lamentinge the generall Misserie Northumberland is fallen into, and like to contynew yf God rayse not some good meanes dalie to crave her Majesties gratiouse Ayde and Assistance, whereof yf your Lordship vouchsafe your Labores your Lordship shall not onlie strengthen your distressed Tenants, but gayne worthie Honor which I wishe to your Lordship, with humble Thankes for your honorable Libertie for the use of your Lordships House at Alnwick, and rest

“Your Lordships assured to comaund,

“RA: EURE.”¹

“Hexham, xxix Januarie, 1595—96.”

The Bishop of Dunbar draws this melancholy picture of the state of Northumberland:—

“Five thousand Ploughs have been laid down within 25 yeeres, and a number of good men ready to serve the Queen have been converted to a few men’s Benefit. . . . The Poor are multiplied, and Hospitality which was much regarded is greatly decayed. . . . If foreign Nations did not supply Corn the People would starve.”²

¹ From the Lord Eure to the Earl of Northumberland. *Alnwick MSS.*

² Dr. James, Bishop of Dunbar, to Lord Burghley, May, 1597, *State Papers*. The depopulation complained of appears to have been in great part due to a change in the rural life of England brought about at this time by the conversion of arable into pasture land, and the consequent destruction of small farms;—a practice evidently viewed with disfavour by the Government of the day, since several enactments were passed to check this tendency, or to mitigate its evil effects.

In the *Quarter Sessions Records* of the North Riding for the year 1607 we read:

“The townes undernamed are inclosed and pitifully depopulated. Maunby by William Middleton about xvi. yeares since; Gristhwaite by the late Earl of Northumberland (the eighth Earl) about xxx. yeares

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While his county was reduced to this lamentable condition the Earl of Northumberland, although he was the first of his family to make Alnwick Castle his chief residence in the north, showed a marked disinclination to exercise official authority, or to take that active part in local administration and defence which had long been considered as appertaining to his position.

Sir Robert Cecil writes :—

"The Borders are ill-governed, and the Wardens threatened to be remoued, and, because their Equality breeds Emulation and Contention, it was offered to the Earl of Northumberland to be Warden of the Myddle March, and Lieutenant for the time (to countenance factions) of the three shires, like to a proposed overture made by the Scottish King to constitute the Duke of Lennox to be a Superintendant over the residew ; but my Lord this conceipt hath spent, and we, that love him, whom he hath seriously importuned to keep him from it, have now delivered him from the Impositions, with which he is very well contented ; and joys, I perceive, rather in his pryvate Lyfe, than to be placed from it soone, when he doubts his Purse will be picked."¹

The Earl showed the same indifference to his magisterial duties in the South, and is reproached by Lord Buckhurst for declining to join the justices of Sussex in searching out certain abuses connected with the exportation of corn and munitions of war from that county, being reminded that even though he would not assist them in their labours, he should at least afford such

since ; North Kilvington by Mr. Mansell." Also that 200 roods of tilled land on Newsham Moor having been inclosed by the Earl of Exeter, the Lord of the Manor, in 1609, the people had pulled down the wall, for the rebuilding of which a rate was levied upon the parish.—*North Riding Record Society Publications*, vol. i. London, 1883-84.

¹ Sir Robert Cecil to the Earl of Shrewsbury, June, 1597. *Talbot Papers*, fol. 415.

information as he possessed on the subject, in order to enable them to trace the offenders.¹

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1596-1597

He continued however to be assiduous in his attendance at Court, and in this year accepted a ceremonial mission to Paris;² but declined a more interesting and important diplomatic employment.

Nine years had now passed since Henry of Bourbon had ascended the throne of France, and his Huguenot subjects became clamorous for the fulfilment of the promises he had made them, when King of Navarre, of toleration for the exercise of their religion.³ Elizabeth warmly sympathised with their cause, to urge which, as well as to hasten the pending negotiations of peace with Spain, she determined to despatch a special embassy to Paris, the charge of which was first offered to the Earl of Northumberland: a strong mark of the royal confidence and favour. For reasons that have not transpired he prayed to be excused, and the Earl of Shrewsbury became the representative of England at the formal promulgation of the famous Edict of Nantes.⁴

In the following year there was once more an alarm of a Spanish invasion, and defensive operations on a large scale were set on foot. Camps were formed along

¹ Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, to Earl of Northumberland, 24th February, 1596. *Alnwick MSS.*

² "The Earl of Northumberland should be warned beforehand to make himself ready to go to the French King, and it should be ascertained whether he is not to carry the Garter to his Majesty. Sir Anthony Mildmay should be in readiness to go with the Earl, and to remain as lieger ambassador."—Lord Burghley to Sir Robert Cecil, 8th July, 1596. *State Papers.*

³ "The Huguenots were assembled at Loudun with the deputies of the Churches, and refused to dissolve their assembly till the king should perform his promise."—Birch's *Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii. 60.

⁴ "Her Majesty had appointed the Earl of Northumberland to have gone as her ambassador; but the allegation of his . . . [the word is illegible] hath excused him, and so the charge is like to be committed to the Earl of Shrewsbury."—Lord Burghley to Earl of Essex, 25th July, 1596. *Ibid.* 76.

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the coast, and we are told "great Provision is made for horse, as being the greater advantage we have, if the Ennemie come, and the Noblemen about Court have rated themselves highly."¹

The Earl of Northumberland was commissioned General of Horse;² and it is illustrative of the decay of the military power of the old English nobility under the Tudors, that the largest force brought into the field by any one individual was a troop of two hundred Horse, while Northumberland, in common with a few others of his rank and standing, is praised for his munificence in contributing one hundred horsemen.

In spite of Elizabeth's well-known aversion to any discussion on the subject of an heir to the English throne, the prospect of a disputed succession caused so much uneasiness in the public mind, that it was formally proposed in Parliament that the Queen should be petitioned to nominate her successor. No sooner did this come to her ears than she caused the daring members of the House of Commons who had proposed and seconded this resolution to be committed to the Fleet Prison.³ This high-handed proceeding, however, only served to increase the agitation, and to cause those most nearly allied to the royal house to marshal their forces; while parties were formed to establish and support the claims of their favourite competitors for the Crown.

The great-grand nephew of Henry VIII., King James of Scotland, though an alien, was now the nearest male heir to the English throne, but Elizabeth had persistently refused to acknowledge him as such. The will under

¹ Chamberlain's Letters. *Camden Society's Publications*, No. LXXIX.

² Rowland White to Sir Robert Sidney, 4th August, 1599. *Sidney Papers*, vol. ii. p. 112.

³ Hume's *Hist. of England*, vol. iv. 115.

which Henry had settled the succession on the daughters of his sister, the Duchess of Suffolk, having been set aside as illegal, the nomination of the future sovereign rested, within recognised limits, absolutely with the Queen, whose choice, it was understood, would be as a matter of course affirmed by Parliament. Whether, as was generally asserted, from a morbid repugnance to contemplate her own death, or, as is more probable, from a jealous apprehension that her subjects might turn from her to worship the rising power, Elizabeth refused to discuss the question or to hint at a preference.

A contemporary pamphlet¹ cites no less than twelve eligible claimants for the crown. Foremost among these, and second only to James VI. of Scotland, stands the Lady Arabella,² the only child of Charles Stuart, younger brother to Darnley, the father of James VI.; and eighth on the list is the name of the Earl of Northumberland, as lineal descendant from Mary Plantagenet, granddaughter of Edward Crouchback, described as the eldest brother of Henry III.

It is by no means improbable that the proud and ambitious Percy may have indulged in the dream of a crown which, by uniting his claims to the more powerful title of the Lady Arabella, would have been brought within measurable distance of his reach. Certain it is that the rumours of such an alliance now revived.

A significant State paper on this subject has been preserved.

“Certen Notes of Remembrance owt of y^e examinacōns of H. Walpoole, Jhon Boust, and others.

¹ *The State of England, Anno Domini 1600*, by Thomas Wilson. See Appendix VIIIA.

² Born in 1577. She was still a child when by her father's death she succeeded to his name and great possessions.

A.D.
1564-1632

" It appeareth amongst diuerse seditious libells w^{ch} are now in the forge abroad, thear is in hand a treatise compiled by fa. Persons [Father Parsons?] of all y^e Competitors to y^e Crowne of England and their Titles and pretenses. Of which booke speciall Caueat would be gyuen that no such be dispersed hear as that which is most apt to breed seditious whisperings and expectations. . . . It should seame there is some ey abroad and some project of contryuing a match between y^e Erl of Northumberland and y^e La Arbella ; not that there appeareth any practise thereof on this side, but if they abroad conceyue it to be apt for y^r purpose, at one tyme or other, they will sett the traffique a foote, and therefore more ey would be had vpon it."¹

There was no chance, however, of the union of two such powerful subjects being tolerated by Lord Burghley, who had his own projects to carry out, nor by the jealous Queen, who had a summary way of dealing with high-born lovers bent upon matrimony in opposition to her policy or wishes. Not only had she peremptorily forbid the banns, and placed the young lady under close restraint,² but she had taken the precaution of providing the Earl of Northumberland with another and, as she conceived, more suitable wife. This was Dorothy, daughter of Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex, and widow of Sir Thomas Perrott,³ who had settled a large jointure

¹ *Original State Papers*, Record Office. *Dom. Eliz^h*, vol. 235. No. 19.

² It will be remembered that James, profiting by Elizabeth's example, when in 1610 the Lady Arabella privately married Lord Beauchamp's son, sentenced her to pass her married life in close and solitary confinement in the Tower, where she died, hereft of reason, in 1615.

³ Son of the famous John Perrott, Lord Deputy of Ireland, who, after a long life of brave and faithful service under the Crown, only escaped the scaffold by a lingering death in the Tower. He was reputed to have been a natural son of Henry VIII. Sir Thomas Perrott had served under his father in the Irish Wars, and in 1590 succeeded Sir George

A.D.
1595-1599

upon her; but this was declared to have been invalidated by his father's attainder and the confiscation of his estate by the Crown. Elizabeth, to make the marriage more acceptable to Northumberland, had consented to forego her claim to the property contained in the settlement; but Coke, the Attorney-General, and Lord Burghley clung obstinately to the legal rights of the Crown, against which the Queen must have shown but little disposition to enforce her authority, for the case long continued the subject of litigation and angry discussion.¹

In these circumstances the marriage, which took place in 1595, had only served to increase the Earl's pecuniary embarrassments, while the clashing of two violent tempers produced the usual results. Unfortunately the lady was addicted to seeking redress for domestic grievances out of doors, and to carrying her complaints to various friends. We find her in correspondence on the subject of her family troubles with the Queen, Sir Francis Bacon,² and Lord Burghley, while, to make

Carew as Master of the Ordnance. His marriage with the Lady Dorothy gave great offence to her family. It had been a runaway match, and the ceremony was performed by an unknown minister officiating under a special licence, irregularly granted; while armed men stood at the church door to prevent interruption.—See Strype's *Life of Aylmer*, p. 217. (Edition, 1821.)

¹ "I heare that what troubles him [the Earl of Essex] greatly, is certain lands of Sir John Perrot's which is now again called in question, for the Queen who, since his death, by due course of law was adjudged to be the right of my lady Northumberland and her daughter [by her former husband]. Mr. Coke is said to be the occasion of it."—Rowland White to Sir Robert Sydney, 21st February, 1596. *Sydney Papers*, ii. p. 18. The litigation was a lengthy one, for we read that three years later:

"The Lady Northumberland was in [at] Court; she spoke with the Queen, complained of the little means she had to live and besought Her Majesty's favour."—The same to the same, 12th January, 1599. *Ibid.* ii. p. 159.

² See a letter of condolence and advice from Bacon in reply to one from the Lady Northumberland, dated 9th July, 1600, in *Birch's Queen Elizabeth*.

A.D.
1564-1632

matters yet worse, she ostentatiously took the side of her brother Essex in political questions, in direct opposition to her husband.¹

It is not surprising to find that within four years of their marriage they had been two or three times separated.

"Yesternight, somewhat late, the Countess of Northumberland came to Essex House. A muttering there is that there is unkindness grown between her and the Earl her husband upon which they are parted."²

At one time we are told:—

"My Lord Northumberland is reconciled with his lady, for which [the rupture] he was a while in disgrace in higher place."³

And a few months later:—

"I heard the Earl of Northumberland lives apart again from his lady now she hath brought him an heir, which he said was the solder of their reconcilment. She lives at Sion with the child, being otherwise of a very melancholy spirit."⁴

Their first-born child had died in infancy;⁵ two daughters followed,⁶ and then a second son, who lived

¹ Lord Henry Howard describes a scene between the Earl and his wife on the subject of the claims of King James VI. to the English throne, and concludes: "Thus being newly reconciled which was not *more* two years, before they departed in passion."—Lord Henry Howard to Mr. Edward Bruce, 4th December, 1601. *Secret Correspondence with King James the Sixth*. Edinburgh, 1766. p. 31.

² Rowland White to Sir Robert Sydney, 16th October, 1599. *Sydney Papers*, ii. p. 133.

³ Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, 5th January, 1602. *State Papers*.

⁴ Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, November, 1602. *Harl. MSS.* 5353. The Earl of Northumberland at this time held Syon House on a lease from the Crown.

⁵ "My Lord of Northumberland is much grieved at the death of the Lord Percy, his sonne."—Rowland White to Sir Rob. Sydney, 2nd June, 1597. *Sydney Papers*, vol. ii. p. 55.

⁶ Lord Henry Howard, whose statements, however, must be accepted with caution, asserts that the Earl had told Cecil that "he had much

but a short time.¹ The third son, Algernon, the future Lord High Admiral, was born in 1602 and is the child referred to in the foregoing paragraph.

A.D.
1595-1599

As time passed, however, their domestic relations improved, and when adversity overtook the Earl, she proved herself an affectionate, if not always a very judicious, wife.

There was too much in common in the natures of Essex and Northumberland to allow of their occupying the same sphere without collision. Both were proud, fearless, generous, ambitious, and impulsive; and before long the divergence in their political views caused an open breach between them. During the first few years of the marriage, however, they appear to have lived on very friendly terms, and when Essex fell into displeasure, and having had his ears boxed by his capricious Queen, and been bid to "Go, hang thyself," had retired from Court, Northumberland maintained an affectionate correspondence with him, and used his best efforts to restore him to the royal favour.

From the following somewhat enigmatical letter we gather that Essex at this time already entertained designs of opening negotiations with the Scottish King :—

"WORTHY BROTHER,

"Your trusty Ambassador made as much haste as if the affair had imported the Peace of England with Spain. My Return hath been the slower, for that I knew he and his Horse were both weary, wherein

ado to love his own daughters because they were of that generation" [the Essex blood], and that the secretary had consoled him with the assurance that "they might turn out like himself" rather than like his wife.—See *Secret Correspondence with King James the Sixth*, p. 32.

¹ "The Countess of Northumberland, always reputed a very honorable and virtuous lady, is brought to bed of a goodly boy who, God grant, may resemble her, and inherit as well his mother's and his noble uncle's, her most worthy brother's, virtues as his father's antient nobility."—Sir Francis Bacon to his mother, June, 1600. Birch's *Queen Elizabeth*.

A.D.
1564—1632

I did a deed of Charity. Your lordship, though in a greater matter, must do the like in helping Jades that are tired in their courses, which willingly would lie in the Ditch to be freed from farther spurring. I can gather that this is necessary out of your Sentence, '*major pars vicit meliorem*,' because they will *follow great uncertain Kings* to lose true friends; or else they will embrace their own wills, to neglect Argument and Reasons that were more forcible.

"If I conjecture amiss, pardon my Error; if rightly, it is no Wonder; for it is apparent to every weak Understanding. I do wish, for the good of the State, that it be not hurt for their Hopes in the one, and by Malice and private respects in the other; and so put honest men to a greater plunge hereafter. You may expect nothing from this poor End of the World but the faithful Love of a Brother, and the Service of a true Friend to be recommended, which is ever at your Disposition.

"N^d."

The next letter is more intelligible:—

"NOBLE BROTHER,

"I long to know whether we shall have you a Countryman long, or a Courtier shortly. We, that are your Friends, are impatient at the delays; all the service we can do for you at present. What shall I say but that still I am at your Devotion? Many words are idle, howsoever meant, so long as there wants means in me to demonstrate them otherwise. Therefore, wishing you no worse than to my own Soul, I rest,

"Your faithful Brother in whom you have all Power,

"NORTHUMBERLAND."

¹ Earl of Northumberland to Earl of Essex, Petworth, 8th May, 1598. Birch's *Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii. p. 382.

² The Same to the Same, 16th August, 1598. *Ibid.* p. 391.

Lady Northumberland appears to have been more absorbed in her own troubles than in those of her brother :—

A.D.
1587-1599

“ I long to know how you will dispose of yourself in this froward World, which yields nothing but Discontentments, and the more to them that are apt to receive them, among which number I wish I were not. But I will seek to put it from me as much as possible, though I never look but to have cause sufficient. I will no longer trouble you with my melancholy style, but end in wishing you all Contentment.

“ Your most affectionate Sister,
“ D. Nd.” *

Towards the end of the year the Queen relented towards her favourite and, contrary to the advice of her Council, acceded to his prayer to be entrusted with the command of the army dispatched to Ireland for the suppression of Tyrone's rebellion, which had assumed formidable dimensions owing to the material support afforded by the King of Spain.

Essex, with the commission of Lord Lieutenant, embarked in the spring of 1599 ; but, with all his love of military adventure and his indomitable courage, he proved to be utterly wanting in generalship ; and, after an abortive campaign, in the course of which the enemy and the climate had reduced his magnificent army of twenty thousand men to nearly one half their number, he returned to England to justify himself against his numerous enemies and his incensed mistress.

Two of the Earl of Northumberland's brothers, Charles and Richard,² had been for some time engaged

* Countess of Northumberland to same. Birch's *Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii. p. 391.

² Another brother. George, was one of the “ Adventurers ” who accompanied Raleigh to Virginia. He also had served in the Low Country wars, where he lost one of his fingers, as appears in his picture at Syon House. He died in 1632.

A.D.
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in these wars, and honourable mention of both names is of frequent occurrence in the official reports.

In the disastrous action at Blackwater, in August 1598 when the Marshal, Sir Henry Bagnall, was slain with 1,500 of his men, Colonel Charles Percy, in command of the vanguard, had materially assisted in keeping the enemy in check after their victory, and in protecting the retreat by a masterly manœuvre. In the following year Essex appointed him to lead the assault upon Cahir Castle, which he carried, after gallantly repelling a sortie in force from the garrison; and in an action near Dundalk, which the Lord Deputy described as "one of the greatest skirmishes in this kingdom," he is reported to have completely overthrown the rebels, who, in overpowering numbers, had attacked his regiment in front and on both flanks.¹

Sir Richard no less distinguished himself in these wars. He was in command of Kinsale when the Spaniards under Aquila invaded Munster, and although his garrison did not exceed 150 men, he made an obstinate defence, and finally succeeded in effecting his retreat without loss. On Lord Mountjoy's assumption of the command, in succession to Essex, Richard Percy solicited the duty of recapturing the place, and successfully carried it by assault.²

Though somewhat out of chronological order, a few extracts from correspondence relating to this excellent soldier may here be quoted.

He appears to have claimed the intercession of a friend at Court on his behalf for military advancement, and for some compensation for losses incurred in the course of his service in Ireland:—

"The rebels have made me so poor by intercepting

¹ For these and other details see *Carew MSS.*; also Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*, pp. 26 and 66.

² *Ibid.* p. 176.

my carriages that I shall now have to begin the world again."¹

A. D.
1599-1602

The suit having been referred to Sir Robert Cecil, he writes to the Master-General :

"My beloved George, I have written to your worthy Deputy, that he will confer upon Sir Richard Percy the place of a Colonel, which he may now do without breach of instructions, because his army riseth in the list. You know how much I love and honour the noble Earl, who, notwithstanding his obligation in former times to those who esteemed us as Jews, did ever love us for the Truth's sake. Whereof, because I am well acquainted with the interest he hath in your Affection, I think it superfluous to say more of this request than this : that it is very reasonable in all men's opinions, the Merit of the gentleman considered, and that you must use your best Assistance in the Motion, and, in all such Occasions as run within your Circle, make our noble Friend perceive that we are willing to advance his good Desires."²

Lord Mountjoy showed all readiness to befriend one of whose merits he was not ignorant :—

"I pray send Sir Richard Percy to me presently, for I intend that he shall have a Regiment of those men that are now come over, and there must be immediate care taken of them, for they are very raw."³

Sir Richard, however, came to England in person to prosecute his claim.

"I have according to your desire," writes Cecil, "presented this gentleman, Sir Richard Percy, to her Majesty, and withal used those Arguments for her Acceptation of

¹ Sir Richard Percy to Mr. Edmund Wilson, April, 1602. *Alnwick MSS.*

² Secretary Cecil to Sir George Carew, 13th October, 1602. *Calend. Carew MSS.*, vol. iv. p. 152.

³ The Lord Deputy Mountjoy to Secretary Cecil, 16th November, 1602. *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 162.

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1564-1632

him which your clear testimony so largely confirmed. He made me not acquainted with any other Suits of his, for, if he had, you know so well my Affection to the Earl as I should not have sticked to the uttermost of my power. To conclude, Sir, Her Majesty hath used him very graciously, and recommendeth him back again for one, who by his orderly following in the Wars, as well as in his Courage, may be noted for an Example of this difference, when a Gentleman of a noble House, and others, that care but to make Merchandise of the War, are employed.”¹

The suit languished, however, as far as it related to the modest claim for pecuniary compensation, for in the following year Richard Percy wrote to his friend :

“You have been eight weeks a Courtier and you have, I doubt not, learned a Courtier’s lesson ; which is to beare brazen Face, and not to be put out of Countenance with three or four Denyals. Please sue well, and forget not the 50/. Land, in Fee simple or Fee farm.

“There is a flying Report of certain Dukes, Marquises, and Earls to be created, amongst whom my Lord Northumberland is nominated. Of this, and all other Occurrences, let me be partaker.”²

The opportunity of witnessing war on a large scale, at this time, drew numbers of England’s most adventurous spirits to the Low Countries, where many of our young nobles enrolled themselves as volunteers.

“My Lords of Northumberland, Rutland, and Mount-eagle have leave from Her Majesty to goe see this Service, and very speedily they will be with you, for they are now preparing Horse and Furniture . . . and . . . my

¹ Secretary Cecil to Sir George Carew, 3rd January, 1603. *Calend. Carew MSS.*, vol. iv. p. 398.

² Sir Richard Percy to Mr. Edmund Wilson, Cork, 26th February, 1603-4. *Alnwick MSS.*

Lord Northumberland bought here at Court six faire Horses, and paid well for them.”¹

A. D.
1600-1602
—

They were shortly after joined by Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh, and found their way into Ostend, then undergoing that memorable siege which, if she kept her vow, must have caused the Archduchess Isabella of Spain, as well as her ladies-in-waiting, considerable inconvenience.²

Sir Francis Vere, *rigidus ad ruinam*, as old Fuller describes him,³ was in chief command of the English forces; and the best soldiers of England, including his brother Horace,⁴ the Sidneys, and Sir John Norris, served under his orders.

It seems to have been generally believed that Northumberland and his companions were not mere amateurs in this expedition, but that they were charged with a secret mission, relating to the concessions demanded by Spain on behalf of the English Catholics, as a condition to the conclusion of peace :

“I hear their journey was not altogether idle, but that they carried some message which did no harm.”⁵

This supposition is confirmed rather than weakened by the pains taken by Cecil to explain that it was unfounded :

“I have little more, therefore, at this time to trouble you withal, only I think good to preoccupate with you another Circumstance if they hear it, which is the going

¹ Rowland White to Sir Robert Sydney, 23rd June, 1600. *Sydney Papers*, vol. ii. p. 203.

² So much importance was attached to the capture of Ostend that the Archduchess had solemnly vowed not to change her linen until the place should fall. The siege occupied three years and four months, and cost the Spaniards over one hundred thousand men.

³ *Worthies of England*, vol. i. p. 351.

⁴ Afterwards created Lord Vere of Tilbury.

⁵ Sir Henry Neville to Ralph Winwood, 23rd July, 1600. *Winwood's Memorials of Affairs of State*, vol. i. p. 231.

A.D.
1564-1632

over of my Lord of Northumberland and my Lord of Rutland, and now my Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh. Of whom, if they speak but not otherwise, you may use this argument : that they have no charge, nor carried either horse or man, but some half a dozen of their own ; but, finding the Queen is so resolved to have Peace (if good conditions could be had), they obtained leave with importunity to see this one Action, before they should become desperate of seeing any more of that kynde in Her Majesty's Tyme." ¹

There was just now, however, a temporary lull in the military operations on both sides :

"The likelihood of those cold Wars makes the Earls of Northumberland, Rutland, and Grey, to repent their journey, being half in mind to go into France, where there is some appearance of a War, whereby Spain may be lapped into the quarrel." ²

". . . . It is bruited that the Earl of Northumberland either is, or will be, sent for to go from Her Majesty to the French King, to congratulate his Marriage, and victorious proceedings against the Duke of Savoy." ³

* * *

It was at this time that the Earl engaged as his secretary, a gentleman who became warmly attached to him through life ; and whose correspondence with John Chamberlain and others, throws much light upon the history of the period.⁴

¹ Sir Robert Cecil to the Commissioners for the Treaty of Boulogne, 14th July, 1600. *Winwood's Memorials*, vol. i. p. 215.

² Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew, 29th August, 1600. *Calendar Carew MSS.*, vol. iii. p. 436.

³ Rowland White to Sir Robert Sydney, 26th August, 1600. *Sydney Papers*, vol. ii. p. 213.

⁴ Dudley Carleton rose to the highest offices under the Crown, becoming a Privy Councillor and Secretary of State, and was ultimately raised to the peerage under the title of Viscount Dorchester. He died in 1631, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Sir Calisthenes Brook¹ writes to Dudley Carleton in 1601:

A.D.
1600-1601

"I have spoken of you to the Earl of Northumberland, who is too wise to promise anything; but he would gladly take you as his principal Secretary. I think you may venture with him. I was with him at the taking of Berghen and the siege of Ostend, which is not likely to be taken, but he has gone to England now."²

The Earl himself writes:

"You say Mr. Carleton wishes to serve me. I am obliged by his good opinion, but have little means of doing him good. I have no office under Her Majesty, and am no Privy Counsellor, and cannot advance him to my liking out of my fortunes; but if he still wishes to abide the hazard of such fortunes as I run, if they be good his share will be better; if nought, he is like to thrive the worse. If he were my brother I could give him no sounder counsel."³

At the end of the year Dudley Carleton writes to his friend John Chamberlain:

"Lord Northumberland uses me with much favor. He is gone to Syon House and means to live privately, to recover his last year's expences in the Low Countries and to provide for another journey the next."⁴

Elizabeth had begun to grudge the heavy charges upon the exchequer which her support of the United Provinces involved, and was more than ever anxious for

¹ A distinguished soldier who had been General of Horse under Essex in Ireland.

² *State Papers*.

³ Earl of Northumberland to Sir Calisthenes Brook, 9th July, 1601. *Ibid*.

⁴ *Ibid*. The cost of these expeditions was great, for the Earl thought it due to his rank and position to be magnificently equipped and accompanied by a large retinue. In a memorandum relating to his accounts we find the following entry: "Earl of Northumberland in the Low Countries for 33 weeks, in 1600 and 1601, Expenses £4018 19s. 2½d.; besides £1121 18s. 10d. for purchase of horses."—*Alnwick MSS*.

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the conclusion of peace with Spain ; but the negotiations made but little progress.

"There is no talk here of peace or war," writes Northumberland from Court ; "we are all in charity and free from faction, and, according to that old fashion at home, delays are in as high estimation as ever."¹

In an age when the blow was too often the answer to the word, it is not surprising that a man with the temper of the Earl of Northumberland should frequently have been engaged in what it was in those days already the fashion to describe as "affairs of honour," and we have here an illustration of the punctilio of the duel in Elizabeth's reign.

Sir Francis Bacon having inquired as to the foundation of certain rumours relating to a quarrel with the Earl of Southampton, who was alleged to have spoken disparagingly of Northumberland, the latter gives this account of the transaction :—

"Lord Southampton² sent to me a gentleman with his rapier, which seeing I embraced him, saying that if he brought a challenge I accepted it beforehand. His answers were that he did not ; only he brought his rapier, which the night before he promised to send, without appointing time and place that same day. My reply was that Southampton had not a novice in hand. I knew well when I was before or behind in points of honor ; and therefore I had nothing to say farther, unless I were challenged. After his departure he returned within the space of [a half hour and brought me a challenge

¹ Earl of Northumberland to Dudley Carleton at the Hague, 6th April, 1601. *State Papers*.

² Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton. He was implicated in Essex's conspiracy, and very narrowly escaped the fate of his associate. He appears to have been weak and devoid of judgment in public life, but is honourably known as the patron and friend of Shakespeare.

A.D.
1600-1602
—

absolutely ; but in mine opinion stuffed with strange conditions, for he would both have assigned the place and the time, and have chosen the rapier single, because his arm was hurt with the ballon. My reply was that I knew that the Earl played not with his left hand, and that I would stay to press him till his arm were well. Afterwards I would appoint everything apt in such a case. But within one hour after, Her Majesty's commandment was laid upon us with the bond of allegiance. We went to Court, where we were called before the Lords. The conclusion was this : that they assured of their honours they knew that he had not spoken those words ; which afterwards he affirmed. My answer was, that I rather believed their lordships than any other ; and therefore the lie I had given was nothing ; and so revoked he his challenge, and we made friends. This is the end of an idle tale."¹

More serious was the Earl's next quarrel, which, although it came to be unduly raised into historical importance, is interesting as an illustration not only of the manners of those times, but of the character and temper of the parties.

As General-in-chief Sir Francis Vere necessarily exacted strict discipline and subordination on the part of the volunteers who joined his army ; and he may possibly have exercised his authority with excessive severity. On the other hand, it is evident that some of the young nobles, who found their way to the Low Countries to see fighting, showed themselves indisposed to yield implicit obedience to a Commander of inferior social rank.²

¹ Birch's *Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii. p. 274.

² There are several indications of such feeling in the correspondence of those times ; among others :

"The Lord Grey prepares to go into the Low Countries and to have the command of a troop of three or four hundred Horse. . . . He stood at first upon some punctilios to be commanded by Sir Francis Vere, but since, they be agreed and become good friends."—Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 8th May, 1602. *Chamberlain's Letters*, p. 131.

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Between him and Northumberland there had already existed some previous ill-feeling, as we learn from one of Cecil's letters :—

"For the point you touch concerning the Earl of Northumberland and Sir Francis Vere, there was never any such matter; only being both given to emulation, there grew some dryness between them at the Earl's being last in the Low Countries, fed by some of their followers, but never growing to more than reservedness. Since this, Sir Francis Vere chanced, as he lay in his return some months since to the Low Countries to be windbound at Yarmouth, until the Earl of Northumberland, who was likewise to pass over unto the Low Countries, came into that town. Sir Francis Vere visited him, but in a dry form, saying that as they were both in a town, although otherwise he would not have troubled him, he thought good to visit him. The Earl replied he was sorry he had troubled both himself and him, seeing he might thank the wind for his courtesy, and so they parted."¹

About the same time Chamberlain had written that there were rumours that "at a banquet in the Low Countries the Erle of Northumberland had stroken him (Sir Francis Vere), whereas it is most certain that they have not met there since their last going over."²

Again we are told that the Earl, having put a question to the great commander on a military question, he had "answered him home."³

It was some time after this that Northumberland called Vere to account for certain expressions reflecting upon his character which he was reported to have

¹ Secretary Cecil to Lord Burghley, 15th July, 1601. *State Papers*.

² Chamberlain to Carleton, 8th July, 1601. *Chamberlain's Letters*, p. 112.

³ *Ibid.* p. 126.

uttered,¹ and not receiving a satisfactory explanation, he addressed to him the following challenge: A.D. 1602

"SIR,

"I told you at Ostend y^t then was noe fitt tyme to expostulate matters; now I hold it proper to call you to accompt for those wronges I have heard you have done me. You love to take y^e air and ride abroad. Appoint, therefore, a place betyme to your owne likinge, y^t I may meet you: Bringe you a friend wth you, I will be accompaneyd wth another y^t shall be wittnes to y^e thinges I will lay to your charge. If you satisfye me we will be good Friendes; if not, we will doe as God shall put into our myndes. I wyll eschew all bitter wordes as unfitt for men of our occupation. Seeke not by frivolous shiftes to divert this course of satisfaction; for all other means than this y^t I have proscribed, I shall take as an affirmacon of y^t I have heard, which will cause me to proceed in righting myselfe as the wronges require. Make me no replyes by letters, but send me your minde by this Bearer directly, whether you will or will not, for from me you shall have no more. Give no cause of noyse in the world to hinder this course least you baffle your own reputacon. Whatsoever else I shall doe in this just cause of offence, fewer wordes I could not have used to have exprest my mynde."²

This peremptory missive was conveyed by the hands of one Captain Whitlock, who demanded a verbal reply,

¹ Sir Francis Vere emphatically denied having in any way wronged the Earl's reputation, asserting that "those sinister reports" were made "by base and factious persons," to whom the Earl was to be blamed for giving credence.

² From the Earl of Northumberland to "the Valorous and worthy Capt. S^r Francis Vere, L. Governor of the Brill and Commander of y^e English Forces under the States," 24th April, 1602. This letter and the ensuing correspondence on the same subject are transcribed or extracted from the *Harleian MSS.* No. 787, fol. 62^a.

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but was told by Vere that "upon such a subjecte as that was he could not soe suddainlye gyve aunswere;" but on the following morning Sir Francis sent Captain Ogle to the Earl with this letter :

"Your Lordshipp requyred in the letter sent me by Captayne Whitlocke that I should retourne a directe aunswere by worde of mouthe to the contents, which at the instance I forebore, the matter beinge of momente, and not to bee resolved of soe suddainly. And nowe, for good respects, I chose rayther to lett your Lordshipp to knowe my mynde by writinge, than by any man's reporte.

"If your Lordship's meaninge be, by the meetinge you appoynte, to drawe a verball satisfaction from mee, in the objections you are to make, the manner of the meetinge, in my opinion, is not the best ; in regard that truthe delivered, where swordes might bee drawn, is subjecte to hard construction, which I desire to avoyde. Your Lordshipp shall therefore be pleased to nominate some fitt place for communication, whither I will repayre with much Willingness, to cleare myselfe of havinge given your Honnour the first cause of offence, for Truthes sake, for the Respect of your Greatness requyred, and for that I despise private Combatinge, especially att this Tyme, that I am ingaged in soe greate and important an action as your Lordshipp knoweth.

"This course, rejected by your Lordshipp, I shall not leave to follow the occasion that drew mee [over], with the poor Trayne attendinge me ordinarilye ; confident that your Lordshipp will attempte noethinge unfitting yourself upon mee, that have alwayes lived in good Reputation, and am descended from a Grandfather of your owne Ranke." *

* Sir Francis de Vere to the Earl of Northumberland, Aldersgate Street, 25th April, 1602. The writer was the grandson of John de Vere, sixteenth Earl of Oxford.

The Earl, having refused to receive this communication, and insisted upon a verbal reply, Captain Ogle read out the contents; and Sir Francis subsequently consented to meet his adversary at any place he chose to name, "soe he might have some gentleman qualliffyed, such as Sir Edward Stafford," to be a witness to whatever should take place.

To this the Earl objected that such men would be "like enough to acquaynt the Queene and Councill, if they sawe any differences betwixte them both, that might breed further contention, and bringe them under the power of Her Majesty's commandmente, by their information or hinder them for goinge together into the Field if either partye should have just cause soe to doe and because he held Sir Francis for a gallant gentleman and a worthye Commander, hee was resolved to deal with him in the style of a soldier; and, to bee short, lest Sir Francis Vere should in his scoffinge vayne saye, that he knewe howe to handle a Lord, hee would not accepte of statesmen (civilians), but willed Captayne Ogle to tell him that hee would be stedfast to his first designe to bringe with him a gentleman and a soldier, over whose sworde hee was assured hee had absolute authoritye for the tyme and in this matter betwixt them two, and could command him in honorable courtesye not to drawe, but only to be witness of their conference and appoyntment, lest Sir Francis Vere, or himselfe, after they were parted, should saye more or lesse of each other than indeed had been said." On Sir Francis declining this proposition the Earl desired Captain Ogle to inform him that "hee was thoroughly persuaded that hee had done him these wronges which hee meant to laye to his charge, and that hee would laye upp this injurious dealinge in his hearte and righte himselfe thereafter as hee should think fitt." At

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this juncture Sir Noel Caron, Agent in England for the Low Countries, having become acquainted with the proceedings, reported the matter to the Queen, who laid her commands upon the Earl "to forbear any action against Sir Francis Vere, att that instant employed in her service, which commandment hee, in all humility, did accept of," protesting, however, that "Sir Francis Vere was a knave and cowarde, and that in fleeringe and gearinge like a common buffoon, would wronge men of all conditions, and had neyther the honestye or the courage to satisfye any."

This denunciation he caused to be published in English, French, and Italian, whereupon Sir Francis replied :

"Because I refused to meete you, uppon your peremptorye and foolishe summons, you conclude mee, in a discourse sent abroad under your Name, to bee a knave, a coward, and a buffoone; wheruppon you have procured mee to set aside all Respecte to your person, and to saye that 'You are a most lyinge and unworthy Lord.' You are bounde by Her Majestye's commandmente not to assaile mee, and I, by the Business committed to mee, not to seeke you. When you shall bee freer, as God shall make us meete, I will maintayn it with my sworde."¹

It must be allowed that Sir Francis Vere had from first to last the best of the quarrel, and acquitted himself with a temper and dignity in which his adversary proved sadly deficient.²

* * *

¹ John Chamberlain sums up this part of the story very succinctly :

"Mons^r Charon, *en ayant senty le vent*, went and informed the Queene of it, who sent expresse charge to the Erle upon his alleagaunce not to molest Sir Francis any way, for that she had special service to employ him in. The Erle obeyed, but sent Her Majestie word she shold find Sir Francis a knave, a coward, and a buffon, which comming to Sir Francis's eare he gives out that the Erle is a liar and a base minded man." *Chamberlain's Letters*, p. 132.

² This was evidently the prevalent opinion on the subject: "Northumberland is unhappy, for both Court and Town exclaim against his

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By the failure of his Irish campaign and, yet more, by his repeated disobedience to the Queen's commands, and his return to England without her permission, Essex had again fallen into disgrace. Arraigned before the Privy Council to answer to grave imputations upon his conduct of the war, he was stripped of his military appointments, and committed a prisoner to his own house. Finding Elizabeth obdurate to his passionate appeals, and smarting under the insulting manner with which she received the most humble offers of submission, his impatient temper drove him into defiance, and finally into open rebellion. He made proposals to the Scottish King to place him upon the throne of England, by means of the army; surrounded himself with bands of notorious malcontents and, after a futile attempt to raise the city of London in his favour, expiated his criminal folly upon the scaffold.

21st
February.

Among those who had joined him in his mad enterprise were Sir Charles, and Sir Jocelyn Percy, but after some months' imprisonment in the Tower they were, through their brother's intercession, liberated on payment of a fine of £500.¹

indiscretion for challenging a great Commander of the State at such a time as without breach of duty he could not, nor might not, answer him."—Lord Henry Howard to Mr. Edward Bruce, April 1602. *Secret Correspondence with James VI.*

From this passage in Sully's *Memoirs* it would appear that after Elizabeth's death the Earl took the first opportunity of revenging himself upon his adversary:—

¹ "The conversation of the Court turned entirely upon the disputes and quarrels which happened between particular persons. The Earl of Northumberland struck Colonel Vere in the presence of the whole Court and was confined in Lambeth by the King's (James I.) order, who was justly offended at so disrespectful and outrageous an insult."—Book xvi. *sub. anno*, 1603. There is no mention, however, of any such occurrence in contemporary English Histories or Correspondence.

¹ *Fœdera*, tom. xvi. p. 452. The Statement in one of Lord Henry Howard's letters (*Secret Correspondence*, p. 32) that the Earl was only desirous to have a son in order to exclude his brothers, "whom

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The Earl of Northumberland had long since ostentatiously dissociated himself from the political tactics of Essex, and had indeed latterly, by countenancing the factions of Raleigh and Cobham, become the direct antagonist of his policy.

In this he was probably to some extent actuated by a spirit of opposition to his wife, who, after her brother's disgrace and execution, had vehemently espoused the cause of King James.¹

It was not long, however, before a change came over the Earl's political views, and that he too began to look northward for the rising sun.

None knew better than Northumberland, living, as he did, much at Court, that in spite of her brave efforts to conceal her growing infirmities from the public eye, Elizabeth's glorious reign was drawing to a close. He was in personal attendance upon her, during her last "Progress," and writes from Sir William Clarke's house at Burnham:—

"Wednesday night the Queen was not well, but would not be known of it, for the next day she walked abroad in the Park lest any should take notice of it. . . . The day of the remove Her Majesty *rode on horseback all the way*,

he hates damnably, and protesteth to some of his friends that, next to his wife, he abhorreth them above any," is obviously untrue, for there remain on record numerous proofs of his affection for them, and of his frequent efforts to promote their interests.

¹ "He (Northumberland) told his wife that he had rather the King of Scots were buried than crowned, and that both he, and all his friends, would end their lives before her brother's great God should reign in this element. The lady told him again that, rather than any other than King James should reign in this place, she would eat their hearts in salt, though she were brought to the gallows instantly. He told her that the Secretary had too much wit ever to live under a foreign stock, having been so fortunate under a woman that was tractable, and to be counselled. The lady told him that he need not long triumph upon her brother's mishap, for if he kept in this mind she could expect no better of him than that same, or a worse destiny."—Lord Henry Howard to Mr. Edward Bruce, 4th December, 1601. *Secret Correspondence*, p. 31.

which was ten miles, and also hunted; and whether she was weary or not, I leave to your leisure." ^{A.D. 1602}

The Earl of Northumberland was a true lover of his country, and no patriotic mind could contemplate without dismay the prospect of a disputed succession, on the throne falling vacant. It is probable, too, that the distracted and impoverished state of the Borders may have influenced him in wishing to bring about a lasting peace between England and Scotland by the union of the two kingdoms under one crown, as the only means of terminating that hereditary antagonism which had for centuries proved so destructive to the prosperity of the northern provinces, and had fostered a chronic spirit of lawlessness among the population.²

¹ Northumberland to Lord Cobham, 6 August, 1602. *State Papers*. It is recorded that when, in the previous year, the Queen opened Parliament, her altered appearance attracted general attention, and that, but for those about her person, she would have fallen once or twice under the weight of her robes.

² "Many murders and manslaughters have taken place these last three years, and more murderers and felons executed within four years last past than within ten years before. . . . The power of these malefactors is such that when indicted by the grand jury they escape for want of evidence, none daring to inform against them for fear of their lives. Murderers frequently compound for money and the former dare take no verdict till the parties be agreed, so that odious murders are found manslaughter."—"Information of the Estate of Northumberland in matters of the peace, 1602." *State Papers*. A long list of outrages on the Borders at this time will be found in the *Laws of the Marches* (vol. ii. fols. 96, 170, and 204); and a MS. in Syon House, entitled, "A Note of Remembrance, by Robert Helme, Hereditary Feodary of Alnwick, *Sub. Reg. Elisæ*," records several curious cases of the then prevailing system of blood feuds, resembling the Corsican vendetta, and like that ancient custom, frequently ending in a formal reconciliation and mutual condonation of past homicides. See Appendix IX. According to Hutchinson's pleasant picture, the Union at once effected a complete transformation:

"Cultivation immediately took place; the country so often desolated by war received new inhabitants, who brought with them not only flocks and herds but also manufacture and commerce; the works effected in peace were soon distinguished; the barren acres were put under the ploughshare, towns and hamlets diversified the scene, and increasing population enriched every valley which for ages had been marked by works of hostility."—*View of Northumberland*, vol. i. p. 101.

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Public opinion in England was by this time strongly opposed to the pretensions of the Infanta of Spain, and Arabella Stuart had diminished her chances to the succession by her supposed leaning to the Catholics. Besides, as Northumberland said, the nation would not willingly again be ruled by a Queen, "fearing they should never enjoy another like unto this." Setting aside these claimants there were none to compete, with any chance of success, with King James of Scotland; and Northumberland's ambitious mind may have been gratified at the prospect of becoming, like his ancestor two centuries back, but without any breach of loyalty, "the ladder wherewithal" a new King should ascend the English throne.¹

The moment was especially opportune for negotiation; for James, alarmed lest his recent intrigues with Essex should reach the English Court, had despatched an embassy to London, ostensibly to congratulate the Queen upon her escape from the recent conspiracy, but actually to gauge the national feeling as to the choice of a successor.

The Scottish Ambassador lost no time in communicating in the most influential quarters his royal master's promises of future favour to those who should support his claim; and Cecil, who since the fall of Essex had exercised an almost undisputed power in the Council, now forsook the neutral attitude he had hitherto maintained.

Conscious, however, of the danger of arousing Elizabeth's jealousy and resentment, his negotiations were

¹ Francis Osborne, a bitter opponent of King James, expresses surprise at one of the Earl's "honorable extraction and exquisite erudition," being "muffled with love to the person of that prince," and attributes his action to personal ambition.—*Traditional Memoirs of the Reign of King James VI.* London, 1701.

conducted in profound secrecy, and mainly through the medium of Lord Henry Howard ;¹ a man of doubtful antecedents and unscrupulous character, but possessed of great capacity and peculiar aptitude for political intrigue.

The secret correspondence which ensued in no way reflects upon the loyalty or patriotism of Cecil. He undertook it, fully conscious of its delicacy and danger, to meet a great national emergency ; and it is worthy of notice how, in all his letters to the King, he subordinates his professions of respect and attachment, to the duty and affection owing to his own sovereign ; and what pains he takes to justify his action by the conviction—well founded upon the whole—that his choice of a successor was inwardly approved by Elizabeth, although she shrank from giving expression to her wish.

In one respect, however, the discovery of the correspondence has damaged Sir Robert Cecil's reputation. Jealousy of Northumberland, from the moment he was known to have espoused the cause of King James, was but natural in a man of the calibre and in the position of Lord Henry Howard, who saw in the great English Peer

¹ He was the youngest brother of the fourth Duke of Norfolk, executed in 1572 ; was created Earl of Northampton shortly after James's accession, and long continued to enjoy the favour of that sovereign. He was deeply implicated in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, but died, before the trial took place, in 1614 at Northampton (afterwards Northumberland) House, in Charing Cross, which he is accused of having "built with Spanish gold." Sir Anthony Weldon (*Court of King James VI.*) describes him as "the grossest flatterer in the world, and of so venomous and so cankered a disposition that he hated all men of noble parts, nor loved any but flatterers like himself ;" and Miss Aikin says of him : "His career seemed expressly calculated to show the world how much baseness could be made compatible with the noblest birth, the most accomplished education, and talents which had early attracted general regard."—*Memoirs of the Court of James the First*, vol. i. p. 439. That Cecil should have chosen such an agent for a secret and in some respects dishonest negotiation is less surprising than that he should have accredited him to the Scottish king as "*et vir et civis bonus*," since he must have known him to be worthless in either capacity.

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only a formidable rival in the favour of the future sovereign, and one who, by claiming a large share, might diminish his own rewards. But no such excuse can be offered for the exhibition of this unworthy feeling on the part of Elizabeth's powerful Minister.

When the Earl, who was unversed in, and by natural temperament peculiarly unfitted for, the arts of secret diplomacy, determined upon offering his support to James, he communicated his intention to Cecil with full confidence in his friendship and loyalty. He did not, as he informed the King, believe that the Secretary would himself take any action in the matter during the life-time of the Queen; but he expressed his conviction that he was, at heart, in favour of the Scottish succession, and that, when the time came, His Majesty might rely upon that statesman's powerful support. In how different a light does Cecil's conduct appear throughout these transactions!

In not accepting so out-spoken and unguarded a coadjutor in a secret service of extreme delicacy, the minister may have done wisely; but, since they were working to a common end, it was neither wise nor worthy on his part to take every opportunity of disparaging or calumniating one who was acting with him in the most complete frankness and good faith, and for whom he continued to profess a warm friendship.*

This correspondence, from first to last, serves to afford a painful illustration of that duplicity which a father's careful training in the tortuous statescraft of those times, had engrafted upon a naturally scheming and secretive, though, in other respects, honest nature.

* See his letter to Sir George Carew, *ante*, p. 200. Francis Osborne says with truth: "Nothing is more prominent in Cecil's correspondence than an anxious wish to convince James that Northumberland had neither the power nor the wish to serve him; and to the prejudice, thus artfully excited, may be traced the succeeding misfortunes of that ill-fated nobleman."—*Traditional Memoirs of King James VI.*

Northumberland, frank and trusting from first to last,¹ had carried to Cecil the King's reply to his first communication. Here is what followed :—

"After that Northumberland had brought the letter of King James written to himself to Cecil, and withal presented unto him certain messages by word of mouth, recommended to him also, as he says, by Percy² from King James, *Cecil seemed to accept his kindness very thankfully; but after he was departed sent for me*, and seemed very much to wonder at the messages which Percy delivered, because those messages did seem to set a greater price upon the man than he deserves and he desired me to write in my own style, as I have now done, to qualify this trust, and deliver plainly to His Majesty, under correction, what my reason judgeth of the measure to be kept with him which is still to use him well, to retain this pledge of his profession, to make him sure, and as occasion doth serve, some time to comply with courtesies, but *never to give him the least light of any kind of favour or respect*, . . . never to give him credence in his advices, which must either be idle, having no friend; or dangerous, being bent to particular ends; and, last of all, that His Majesty cut off all ordinary traffic of intelligence, because it will let a thousand lights into the mystery."³

In Lord Henry Howard the wily secretary had found a worthy and zealous agent for a service of duplicity

¹ "The wily Secretary . . . was already employing every art to ruin in the opinion of the Prince his old associates. Cobham, Raleigh, and even this unsuspecting Northumberland, who believed himself at the bottom of his secrets; and who accounted the friendship of the Secretary among the most sincere and inviolable of his possessions."—Aikin's *Memoirs of James the First*, vol. i. p. 59.

² Thomas Percy, the medium of Northumberland's correspondence with the King, afterwards notorious as a principal agent in the Gunpowder Plot.

³ Lord Henry Howard to Mr. Edward Bruce, 1st May, 1602. *Secret Correspondence*, p. 103.

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and slander, and his zeal in a work so congenial to his nature was stimulated by a violent personal animosity to the Earl for some real or fancied offence. "The diabolic triplicity," under which title he denounces Northumberland, Cobham, and Raleigh, occupies a large space in his "ample Asiatic and endless volumes;"¹ but the first of the trio is ever the chosen object of attack, and is by turns described as a formidable enemy, a doubtful friend, and the harmless dupe of more dangerous men.

"The first canon that was concluded in this conventicle," he writes, "was that Northumberland, who is, by their illusions and his own giddiness, a sworn enemy to King James, should offer himself as a willing instrument to Cecil to reconcile him to King James; for *inter cæcos dominator luscus*, and in this concert, that have run foreign courses, Northumberland out of a residence [? residue] of kind affection in his uncle, to 'the Queen, your mother,' makes himself omnipotent in the good conceit of His Majesty. Of all this I gave notice to Cecil; *drawing it, and much more, from a person whom he trusted as himself*; for such a leaking sieve did never water the wild gardens of Hesperides. Cecil, being fenced and well armed by this precaution, desired infinitely that this offer might be made, to the end that he might make amends for some frank words cast out to him before his last going over [to the Low Countries], of his allowance of the rights of King James before any, At the last he comes and was so well paid in his own coin by Cecil, as the fool, finding he had set up his

¹ "I have therefore thought good in my own laconic style to answer all your ample Asiatic and endless volumes." This is the severe but perfectly just criticism applied to the verbosity and strained imagery of Lord Henry Howard's literary style by King James in his letter of May, 1602. *Secret Correspondence*, p. 116.

candle to a wrong saint, began to work back again A.D. 1602

" "

The whole of the Earl of Northumberland's correspondence with King James is on record and speaks for itself.¹ It is in all respects honourable to him, and is marked by so much clear-sightedness, moderation and sagacity, that we cannot but regret that the injustice of an ungrateful Prince should ultimately have deprived the country of the services of one who, when time and experience should have tempered his faults, could hardly have failed to prove a wise and influential counsellor.

There is one other characteristic feature in his letters to the King, and this is the more praiseworthy since James was notoriously fond of gross flattery: they are entirely free from the servility and adulation too commonly met with in addresses to royalty at that time, and, while thoroughly respectful, are always consistent with self-respect.³

The letters, extending over twenty-three closely printed pages, are worthy of careful perusal, but can here be only cursorily reviewed.

The Earl begins by expressing the conviction that the

¹ Lord Henry Howard to Mr. E. Bruce, November, 1601. *Secret Correspondence*, p. 30.

² It will be found, admirably edited by Mr. John Bruce, F.S.A. (from the original letters in the *Hatfield MSS.*), in the *Camden Society Publications*, No. lxxviii., under the title of *Correspondence of King James VI. of Scotland, respecting his Succession to the Throne of England*, part iii. p. 53. The orthography has here been modernised.

³ Lord Henry Howard's correspondence is replete with the most fulsome flattery, nor was Cecil backward in this respect, witness the following passage:

"It is the property of the Creator to accept the labours of men according to His knowledge of their desire, without measure of their ability. Of this divine quality, if ever man's eyes beheld on earth a lively image, the same appeareth in your person. . . . Your Majesty's exquisite judgment cannot but know that that which I can tender you must be finite, imperfect, and of small value, though the duty, the affection and zealous thankfulness of my heart be, like your favours, infinite, perfect, and matchless."—*Ibid.* p. 27.

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union of the two kingdoms under one sovereign could not fail to be beneficial to both, and then sets forth the two main points for present consideration :

“Whether, after her Majesty’s life, your right will be yielded you peacably without blows or not;” and “whether it be likely your Majesty, before your time, will attempt to hasten it by force?”

He feels certain that the great majority of the English people are in favour of James’s succession, and contends that the freedom of discussion allowed upon the subject shows that “it is not distasteful to the chief agents in our state. . . .” He warns the King not to be discouraged by the reports of those who “from the truth of their conceits, or from policy to endear themselves,” in his favour, should exaggerate the obstacles to his “lawful and peacable succession,” which he “will be certain to have yielded as ever prince had any kingdom [that] was due to him.”

Opposition, he admits, will be found to arise on several grounds. Firstly, the fear lest King James’s Council should be too largely composed of his own countrymen; secondly, the national prejudice against Scotland, and because “the name of Scottes is harsh in the ears of the vulgar;” lastly, the apprehension on the part of the Catholics that their faith would meet with little toleration under his rule.

“To the first objection I have thus answered: that for your own sake it will be your Majesty’s labor rather to nourish us in quiet, than to move discontents at your first entry; that your wisdom will strive more to unite the two nations in all love, by matches and other politic means, to make them one, as now England and Wales are, than to divide them by envy. . . . Neither do I think that the Kings of Scotland have reason to be so far enamored with the faith of their

subjects, that willingly they will repose a greater trust in them than in the English. Besides, *I conceive it, your Majesty, being half English yourself, will think that your honor in being reputed a King of England, will be greater than to be a King of Scots.*"

As to the national antagonism, the Earl believes that "the memories of the ancient wounds between England and Scotland will soon be cancelled, when conscience in their hearts shall proclaim your rights;" and, as regards the toleration claimed by those who adhere to the ancient faith, he trusts to the King's wisdom to make some concessions, since "*it were a pity to lose a good kingdom for not tolerating a mass in a corner* (if upon that it resteth) so long as they shall not be too busy disturbers of the Government of the State, nor seek to make us contributors to a Peter Priest."¹

On the subject of any premature attempt by force to extort a recognition of his claim, the writer expresses himself in the strongest terms of reprobation; he refuses to believe the prevalent rumours on the subject, declaring that such a course would be fatal to the King's prospects, "and albeit your people are apt and forward to enterprising courses, ever desiring spoil of that is not theirs, your Majesty, Commander over their desires, cannot like to see the ruin of that is so near to be your own.

"Soe as I conclude . . . that none can deny but that your Majesty shall, without all contradictions, enjoy that that you are so nigh to by right; and that it cannot be good for you, or us, that you should seek it sooner by force; for this I have ever almost noted, *that lesser kingdoms seldom kept long a greater got by conquest, but*

¹ This passage, by a distorted construction, subsequently formed the grounds of one of the charges preferred against the writer in the Star Chamber.

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by right and succession often; for when conquest runs, the wounds of parents and friends bleed still fresh in their memories, watching but opportunity of revenge, and to free themselves of the burden."

This remarkable letter was the first of the series which was conveyed to the King by the hands of Thomas Percy, whom his employer commends as "one of my house, an honest man, without whom, I fear me, I should yet have been longer silent towards you."¹

The King's affected indignation at the idea of that resort to armed force which but a few weeks before he had been busy in arranging with Essex, is amusingly illustrative of his character.

"As for your advice in the other point, if my constant resolution were not agreeable to your advice I could neither be religious, wise, nor honest; for how could I be religious to prevent God's leisure by unlawful anticipation? and to do that wrong to my neighbours the like whereof I would be lothe to suffer in my own person? It were very small wisdom, by climbing of ditches and hedges, for pulling of unripe fruit, to hazard the breaking of my neck, when by a little patience, and abiding the season, I may with far more ease and safety enter at the gate of the garden, and enjoy the fruits at my pleasure in their greatest maturity."

Thanking the Earl for sending his letter by "a gentleman whom nature must bind you to love, and of whose honesty I have ever heard a sound report;" and begging of him to "employ hereafter none other Mercury in dealing with me," His Majesty concludes:

"I assure you, you can by no means so far enable yourself for my service against the lawful time as by

¹ Thus both Northumberland and Cecil vouched for the honesty of their messengers; the former, however, did sincerely believe in his kinsman till he himself became the victim of his crimes.

not only maintaining, but also advancing, your credit at her (Elizabeth's) hands, that whenever it shall please God to call her to His mercy, you may be a chief instrument to assist my settling in that seat which I honor as the apparent heir, in all quietness, without the alteration or prejudice of any that will not wilfully resist to my right."

In his next letter Northumberland gives his opinion of those who professed to be favorable to the King's claim, but of whose sincerity, James, in his conversation with Thomas Percy, appears to have expressed some doubts.

"Your Majesty's judgment of Essex to be a noble gentleman, but that you had lost no great friend in him, leads me . . . to say . . . that although he was a man endowed with good gifts, yet was his loss the happiest chance for your Majesty and England that could befall us; for, either do I fail in my judgment, or he would have been a bloody scourge to our nation. Of this I can speak very particularly, as one who was as inward with him as any living creature, the first two years I was matched with his sister."

He proceeds to point out Essex's restless ambition, his unceasing desire for military power, his impatience of all who opposed his will, and how it was not until his own influence was on the wane that he had begun to advocate the cause of King James :

"To conclude, he wore the crown of England in his heart these many years, and was therefore far from setting it on your head, if it had been in his power."

Essex was in his grave, and his kinsman might have spared him this harsh judgment. Of the living Raleigh, against whom Cecil had taken care to poison the King's mind, he says that having known him intimately for sixteen years—"I must needs affirm Raleigh's ever allowance

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of your right, and although I know him insolent, extremely heated, a man that desires to seem to be able to sway all men's fancies, all men's courses; and a man that out of himself, when your time shall come, will never be able to do you much good nor harm, yet must I needs confess what I know, that there is excellent good parts of nature in him; a man whose love is disadvantageous to me in some sort, which I cherish rather out of constancy than policy, and one whom I wish your Majesty not to lose, because I would not that one hair of a man's head should be against you, that might be for you."

The King had invited his correspondent's opinion of Cecil, of whom in reply the Earl speaks most generously, under the full impression that their friendship and regard was mutual. He defended him against the charge of "his heart being Spanish," would "pawn his honor that he had never contemplated bringing in the Infanta;" dwelt upon the efforts he had made to mitigate the penalties of all concerned in Essex's ill-advised attempt in James's favour, and expressed his firm conviction that, although Elizabeth's Minister would take no active measures on the King's behalf during the life of the Queen, "for the which in my poore opinion he merits justly an allowance from you," yet when the time should come he would prove that "the secret of his conscience doeth conclude your right to be the next right, and that his heart will then wish that it may have that approbation with all men." He adds: "the ancient familiarity and inward trust hath been between us, which doeth make him understand me very well, his knowledge of my opinion of your title, when necessity of death must leave it to any other hand, his conceiving of my determination to run that course in setting up all the faults of my fortune that way, *yet doth he*

continue his love in preferring me, and in befriending me what he is able." A.D. 1602

Truly the trusting and warm-hearted Percy was no match for the scheming statesman who at this very time had caused his agent to write of Northumberland in terms as untrue as they are ungenerous, for the information of King James :

"The man is beloved of none, followed by none, trusted by no one gentleman or nobleman of quality within the land, beside his faction ; no, not by the gentlemen or peasants of his own country, in respect of his vexation and sport, which you may know by your next neighbours ; and the Queen repeated one month since, when she was moved in his behalf for a regiment, saying, that Raleigh had made him as odious as himself, because he would not be singular ; and such were not to be employed by princes of sound policy . . . I protest to God nothing vexeth Cecil so much as trust imparted above merit, unto men that are unsecret and indiscreet." ¹

King James was too shrewd and sharp-sighted to be misled by these representations. He had had ample opportunities of judging of Northumberland's character and conduct ; he knew how formidable his enmity might have been, and he appreciated his offers of support, as well as his influence in the State, at their full value.

"I am heartily glad," he writes to him, "that it is my good fortune to be acquainted with a nobleman carrying so honorable a mind, as also, that doeth rightly interpret and discern of my honest intentions as you do. In both your letters, may clearly be seen the upright sincerity of your affections towards me ; which, if I do not requite with thankfulness, I should more wrong myself than you."

These professions were no doubt at the time, made

¹ Lord Henry Howard to Mr. Edward Bruce, May, 1602. *Secret Correspondence*, p. 107.

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in all sincerity, and it must have been the reverse of gratifying to Cecil to find the King's agent expressing himself in terms of unqualified praise of the tone of the Earl's correspondence :

"The letter sent from o (the Earl of Northumberland) to 30 (the King) . . . is very discreetly and temperately written, and in all points very near the truth. He says not that he is a Catholic himself, but that sundry of his retinue and dependants hath oars in their boat ; and that they are not able to resolve in any course with the which he shall not be made acquainted."²

By this time the condition of Queen Elizabeth had ceased to be a subject for speculation. The end was rapidly drawing near, and one week before the event, Northumberland thus prepares the Scottish King for his accession to the throne of England.

"Her Majesty hath been evil now almost one month. In the twelve first days it was kept secret under a misprision, taking the cause to be the displeasure she took at Arabella, the motions of taking in Tyrone, and the death of her old acquaintance, the Lady Nottingham.³ Those that were nearest her, did imagine these to be the reasons. More days told us it was an indisposition of body ; sickness was not in any manner discerned ; her sleep and stomach (appetite) only bereft her, so as for a twenty days she slept very little. Since, she is grown very weak, yet sometimes gives us comfort of recovery ; a few hours after, threatens us with despair of her welldoing.

² The names throughout this correspondence are represented by ciphers—the King being expressed by the figure 30, Elizabeth by 24, Cecil by 20, and Northumberland by o.

² Mr. Edward Bruce to Lord Henry Howard. *Correspondence of King James VI.*, Camden Society, p. 47.

³ Lady Nottingham's deathbed revelation on the subject of Essex's ring, and the effect it had upon the Queen, was evidently then unknown to the Earl.

Physic she will not take any, and the physicians conclude that if this continue, she must needs fall into a distemper; not a phrensy, but rather into a dullness and a lethargy."

He proceeds to urge that the recognition of the King's right to the throne was almost universal, and that the Council were taking the necessary steps to insure his peaceful accession. On the subject of the English Catholics he says:—

"Some Papists I have in my family, who serve me as watches how others are affected; and some that I am acquainted with; but yet did I never hear any of them say, but that they all of them wished your Majesty the fruition of your right; and that, if supplication might procure them toleration of their consciences, they should hold themselves happy; if not they must by the laws of God and Right endure it with patience, to which hopes I ever give comfort that it would be obtained. Your Majesty may do in this case as your wisest judgment shall direct you.¹

Now, Sir, matters standing thus I must still rest upon the text of my first letters, in which I think I shall not much have erred, and that was, that your Majesty would come in all peace, with all joy and gladness to us all, and free from all opposition. . . . I speak it confidently, and therefore I hope your Majesty will pardon my *ryche* (*sic*) thoughts, which are devoted with eagerness to your Majesty's service, and my country's good." In a post-script the Earl once more expresses his generous trustfulness in the supposed friend, whose persistent policy it had been to undermine him in the good opinion of the King.

"I discover daily by circumstances that the Secretary

¹ These were the passages upon which, three years later, one of the articles of indictment against the Earl in the Star Chamber was founded.

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is more persuaded to the right of your cause than other.
If your Majesty can win him sure to you, you shall give
a great help to your business and to all our eases.¹

The correspondence closes with this letter from
the King :

“Right truly, and well beloved Cousin :

“The more I hear from you, the more am I rejoiced,
and do think myself infinitely happy that one of your
place, endowed with such sincerity of love towards me,
and with all other parts of sufficiency, should be born
one day to be a subject unto me ; for I protest unto you,
that in your letter you have confirmed the very sum
of all the true news of the state of things there,
according as I was, by divers hands, advertised this
month past.

“And as to the form of my entry there, whenever it
shall please God to call your Sovereign, as in my first
letter I wrote unto you, so now by these presents, do I
confirm and renew the same ; that is to say, as God is
my witness, it never was, is, or shall be my intention, to
enter that Kingdom in any other sort, but as the son and
righteous heir of England ; with all peace and calmness,
and without any kind of alteration in State and Govern-
ment as far as possible I can. All men that hath truly
served their present Sovereign, shall be alike welcome to
me, as they are presently, or were in times past, unto her ;
claiming nothing in that turn as King of Scotland, but
hoping thereby to have the means to knit this whole Island
in a happy and perpetual amity. As for the Catholics, I
will neither persecute any that will be quiet, and give but
an outward obedience to the law ; neither will I spare to
advance any of them that will, by good service, worthily

¹ Earl of Northumberland to King James VI. 17th March, 1603.
Correspondence, Camden Society, p. 74.

deserve it, and if this course will not serve every particular honest man, my privy dealing with any of them can avail but little.—And thus I end, praying you for your own part to rest fully assured that you shall, in the own time, have proof in what high account you are with your most loving friend,

A.D. 1603

“JAMES R.”¹

While James, was inditing this letter, Sir Robert Carey² and Sir Charles Percy were riding a race to Edinburgh with the tidings of Elizabeth's death.

Sir Francis Bacon had been no friend to the cause of the Scottish King, and only two years before had conspicuously paraded his opposition to his Majesty's pretensions, by volunteering to undertake the prosecution

¹ To the Earl of Northumberland, from Holyrood House, 24th March, 1603. *Correspondence of King James VI.*, Camden Society, p. 75.

² A younger son of the first Lord Hunsdon, who had hovered around the deathbed of his royal cousin, with the view of being the first to convey the tidings of her decease to her successor. He had written three days before to prepare the King for the event, and prayed him not to leave Edinburgh until his arrival. Without the knowledge of the Council, but with the connivance of his eldest brother, a Privy Counsellor and Captain of the Band of Pensioners, he started a few minutes after the Queen had ceased to breathe, performing the journey, in spite of a severe fall on the way, within three days.”—See Nichols's *Progresses; Elizabeth*, vol. iii. p. 606, and *James I.* vol. i. p. 34. The Lords, in ignorance of Carey's departure, subsequently despatched Sir Charles Percy, who reached Edinburgh only a few hours after the first messenger.

The French Ambassador writes to Villeroi that immediately after the Queen's decease the Earl of Northumberland had appeared at the Council, attended by one hundred armed men, and had declared that he would put his sword through any man who should presume to question the election of King James.—*Ambassades*, i. 181. The only foundation for the report was probably the fact that the Earl had somewhat peremptorily reminded the Council that their functions ceased with the demise of the Sovereign; adding that the peerage had too long been treated with neglect and contempt, and that they were now determined to assert their rights.—See *Additional MSS.*, British Museum, 1786. fol. 76. His letters to the King prove that he had always been opposed to the display of military force, for which moreover there was no occasion.

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of his former patron and benefactor, the Earl of Essex. No sooner however did the popular tide set in that direction than he took pains to cultivate the good will of James's most influential adherents in England, and among others of Northumberland, to whom he now addressed the following adulatory letter :

"As the time of sewing of seed is known, but the time of coming up is casual, or according to the season, so I am a witness to myself that there has been covered in my mind for a long time a seed of affection and zeal towards your Lordship, shown by the estimation of your virtues, and your particular honors and favors to my brother deceased and to myself. To be plain to your lordship it is very true, and no winds or noises of civil matters can blow this out of my head or heart, that your great capacity and love towards studies, and contemplation of an higher and worthier nature than popular,—a nature rare in the world, and in a person of your Lordship's quality almost singular,—is to me a great chief motive to drawing affection and admiration towards you ; and therefore, good my lord, if I may be of any use to your lordship by my head, tongue, pen, means or friends, I humbly pray you to hold me your own ; and herewithal not to do so much disadvantage to my good mind, nor partly to your own worth, as to conceive that this communication of my humble service proceedeth out of any straights of any occasions, but merely out of an election, and indeed the fullness of my heart.*

Northumberland had by this time attained a high

* Sir Francis Bacon to Earl of Northumberland, *Cabala*, p. 23. The letter bears no date, but was evidently written very shortly before Elizabeth's death. In the same work, a few pages further on, a letter couched in almost identical words, is quoted as having been addressed to the Earl of Northampton ; but this is an evident error, for there was no one at the time bearing that title, which had become extinct in 1571, and was not conferred upon Lord Henry Howard until a year later.

reputation for the pursuit of those literary and scientific studies, to which he afterwards devoted so much of his enforced leisure. He had continued to busy himself in forming a great library at Syon House, and employed agents on the Continent in the collection of rare and valuable books.¹ The haughty peer who would recognise few equals among his own order, eagerly courted the society of men of learning or genius. Hariot,² the mathematician, found in him an assiduous pupil, and munificent patron. The sorrowful old age of Edmund Spenser was soothed by his friendship and sympathy. Philosophers and historians, poets, geographers, and physicians were his chosen and intimate companions. His purse was ever open for the promotion of science, and no poor scholar ever turned disheartened from his doors.

Bacon's tribute to the Earl's higher culture was thus no unmerited compliment; but in spite of the pretence of disinterested affection, his letter betrays rather the ambitious politician appealing to a powerful ally, than the philosopher addressing the patron of literature and learning. Indeed, the concluding appeal was needed, though it could hardly have had the effect of disguising

¹ Sir Henry Savile writes to Carleton (26 February, 1603), introducing one Dalrimple, as a person about to proceed to France, Germany, and Italy, "with bookish matters in hand, for the Earl of Northumberland." --*State Papers*.

² Thomas Hariot, or Harriot, had accompanied Raleigh on his voyage to Virginia. "After his return to England Sir Walter got him into the acquaintance of that noble and generous Count, the Earl of Northumberland, who finding him to be a gentleman of an affable and peaceable nature, and well read in the obscure part of learning, did allow him a yearly pension of £120. . . . About the same time Robert Hues and Walter Warner, two other mathematicians, who were known also to the said Count, did receive from him yearly pensions also, but of less value; as did afterwards Nicholas Torperley." Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Bliss, p. 299. Hariot's great work, *Artis Analyticæ Praxis*, was dedicated to the Earl, whom Dr. Alexander Rhead, in a medical treatise of that period, describes as "the favourer of all good learning, and Mecænas of learned men."

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the writer's object. Bacon's antecedents were, as he knew, against him, but he determined to make a bold bid for the royal favour. If the King were once seated upon his new throne, personal approach might be difficult to one who had openly opposed his accession; but the ambitious lawyer might forestall the crowd of expectant courtiers, and by timely zeal atone for past errors. He accordingly drew up a proclamation, to be issued on the entry of James, and begged Northumberland to father the document, and to make him the bearer of it to the Scottish Court.¹ It was not until after his arrival in Edinburgh that he became aware that Cecil had anticipated him, and that James was already in possession of a proclamation which proved sweet music to his ears.² Here is Bacon's account of his somewhat abortive mission :

"It may please your Lordship,

"I would not have lost this journey, and yet I have not what I went for; for I have had no private Conference to purpose with the King, no more hath almost any other English; for the Speech His Majesty admitteth with some Noblemen is rather matter of Grace than matter of Business. With the Attorney he spake, urged by the Treasurer of Scotland, but no more than needs must.

"After I had received His Majesty's first Welcome, and was promised private Access, yet not knowing what matter of Service your Lordship's Letter carried, for I saw it not, and knowing that Primeness in Advertisement is much, I chose rather to deliver it to Sir Thomas Hoskins

¹ For Bacon's letter to the Earl see *Cabala*, p. 86.

² "As to the proclamation it is set of musicke that sondeth so sueitlie in the ears of the king that he can alter no nots in so agreeable ane harmonie."—Mr. E. Bruce to Lord Henry Howard. *Correspondence of King James VI.*, Camden Soc., p. 47.

than to let it cool in my hands upon expectation of access. A.D. 1603

"Your Lordship shall find a Prince the farthest from vain-glory that may be, and rather like a Prince of the ancient Form than of the latter Time; his speeches swift and cursory, and in the full Dialect of his Nation; in Speech of Business short, in Speech of Discourse large. He affecteth popularity by gracing them that are Popular, and not by any Fashions of his own. He is thought somewhat general in his Favours, and his virtue of Access is rather because he is much abroad, and in press, than he giveth easie Audience. He hasteneth to a mixture of both Kingdoms and Nations, faster perhaps than Policy will well bear. I told your Lordship once before my Opinion that methought His Majesty rather asked Council of the time past, than of the time to come, but it is yet early to ground any settled opinion."¹

Elizabeth had died on the 24th March; on the 4th May following we find the King at Enfield Chase, preparatory to his entry into London:—

"He rid the most part of the way from the Chace, between two honourable personages of our land, the Earl of Northumberland upon his right hand, and the Earl of Nottingham upon his left hand;"² and so, amid the loud acclamations of the citizens, James Stuart ascended the throne of the Tudors.

The new King of England treated Northumberland with marked distinction, making him a Privy Counsellor, and conferring upon him the then important office of Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners. Shortly after his brother Allan³ was appointed Lieutenant of the corps.

¹ Sir Francis Bacon to Earl of Northumberland (no date) *Cabala*, p. 50.

² See "Papers by John Saville" in Nichols's *Progresses of James I.* vol. i. p. 135.

³ The sixth son of the eighth Earl. He was a constant correspondent

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—

Among other marks of his favour, James graciously complied with the following petition :—

“That Henry, late Earl of Northumberland, Petitioners great uncle” (the sixth Earl), “was induced by the wicked persuasion of some of his own servants to disinherit his brother and heir, Petitioners grandfather, and to give all his lands to King Henry VIII. after his own decease without male issue ; and thereupon after the Earls death, His Majesty, having the lands in his hands gave the Manors of Hunmanby, Nafferton, Wanford, Gembling, and Kirk-Leventon in Co. York, to your Majesty's ancestors, Mathew, Earl of Lennox, and the Lady Margaret his wife, and their heirs. Afterwards Queen Mary of her princely bounty for the raising up of your subjects ancient house of nobility, did not only restore Petitioners late Uncle Thomas, and his father, Henry, to their ancient titles, but withal gave them all the possessions of the said Earldom which then remained in the Crown, and amongst the rest the reversion of the Manors above named.

“And now seeing it has pleased God to give your Majesty the said manor, together with the Imperial Crown of this realm, to the universal comfort of us all, your Petitioner beseeches your Majesty to bestow the said manor, being part of the ancient possessions of his Earldom, upon him and he be always ready therewithal

of John Chamberlain and Dudley Carleton, to whom he writes pleasant gossiping letters on current topics. He was created a Knight of the Bath with Prince Charles on Twelfth Day, 1605, and in the following August Edward Lascelles prays the assistance of the Earl of Shrewsbury for promoting a marriage between Sir Allan Percy, and a daughter of a Mr. Curzon in Derbyshire, “that is a very good matringe, she being his only daughter and heire, and himself a man of Seven Hundreth Pound land by yeare, or thereabouts.” Lodge's *Illustrations*, vol. iii. p. 297. The lady, however, preferred the Earl of Dorset, and Sir Allan consoled himself for the loss by taking to wife the daughter of Sir John Fitz of Fitzford, Devon.

as with all the rest of his lands and goods, his life and whatever else may be his, to serve your Majesty to the utmost of his powers and courage." ¹ A.D. 1603

About the same time a grant of lands lately belonging to Sir John Perrott, of the value of £500 a year, was made in favour of the Countess of Northumberland, in lieu of a pension of £400 a year allowed her by Elizabeth.²

The Earl was appointed one of the Commissioners for putting in force the laws passed in Elizabeth's reign against the Jesuits and Seminary priests, which had not hitherto been executed in their full rigour; and in the following year he was a signatory to the deed, issued under the great seal, by which King James established the practice of settling the jewels appertaining to the sovereign upon the English Crown.³ In this year he also officiated as godfather, and his Countess as godmother, at the christening of the Princess Mary.⁴

So far Cecil had not succeeded in diverting the royal favour from Northumberland, who was indeed too powerful to be overlooked in the distribution of honours and rewards, and who always proved ready to assert his rights if neglected;⁵ but Lord Cobham and Raleigh were more defenceless, and found themselves treated with a coldness which aroused their bitter resentment

¹ *Alnwick MSS.* vol. vii.

² *State Papers, Dom. James I.*

³ *Federa*, xvi. pp. 606 and 643.

⁴ *Stow's Annals*, p. 863.

⁵ Thus, in June, the Earl, not having been included in the Commission appointed for examining and allowing of suits of law, addresses Cecil, still under the impression that he might count the Lord Treasurer as a faithful friend and ally, in these terms:

"I trust of your ancient love and professions that you hold me worthy to be one of them; if I should not, the disgrace would wound me very nigh, and the dishonour would appeare palpable to the whole worlde; the eies of many lookes upon me and soe mutche the more I am sensible in this point. My ambitions are within limits, and they are not great matters I desier. Therefore you may well, out of your judgment and *professed love*, stand with me if I be forgotten."—*State Papers, James I.*

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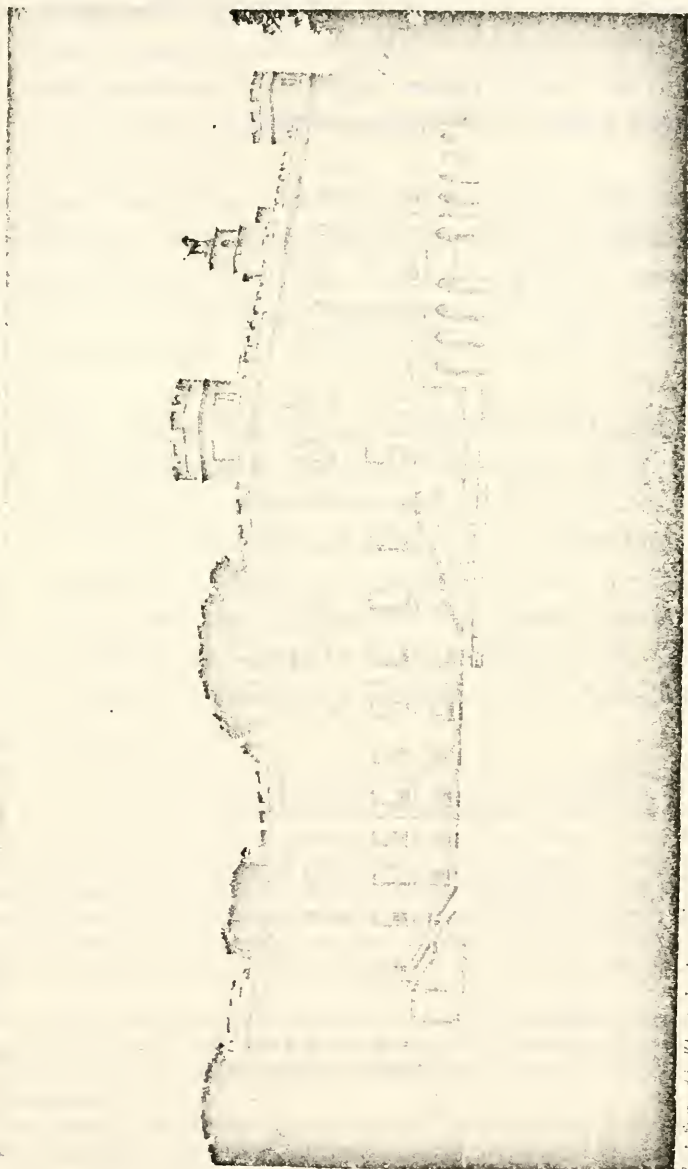
against Cecil. There are no means of gauging the nature and extent of the conspiracy in which they were now accused of having engaged ;¹ but the opportunity of ridding himself of hateful opponents was eagerly seized by the Secretary. The evidence could not sustain a higher charge than misprision of treason, upon which they were accordingly tried ; but by the shameful subserviency of a carefully-composed Commission or Special Jury, and by the indecent zeal of Coke, the Attorney-General,² a verdict of high treason was obtained, and sentence of death was passed upon the accused.

Northumberland hastened to Windsor to intercede for the life of his friend and former ally. He appealed to the King, declaring his conviction of Raleigh's guiltlessness of the treasonable acts imputed to him ; and finding James obdurate he addressed himself to the Queen, with whom he was in much favour, and whose tears succeeded in wringing a respite from the King.³ This intercession on the part of the Earl was the more generous since he knew that attempts had been made to involve him in these intrigues ; and he had thus, while pleading for his friend, to justify himself against suspicions of complicity :

¹ Raleigh could have had but little sympathy with the English Catholics, on whose behalf the plot was set on foot, and even less with the Court of Spain ; but he appears to have sounded Arabella Stuart as to her willingness to be put forward as a claimant for the throne under Spanish protection. This unhappy lady, whose personal aspirations did not now soar above the sphere of reasonable domestic happiness, but who so frequently became a pretext for the political intrigues of more ambitious spirits, decisively declined the perilous honour.

² "Thou viper ! ay, I will *thou* thee ! for thou *art* a traitor !" were among the words which Coke flung at the defenceless prisoner on trial for his life.

³ Fifteen years later the death sentence, which after his release from the Tower had remained in abeyance, was carried into effect upon the brave and accomplished soldier ; nominally for the long-past offence imputed to him, but in reality as a peace-offering to the King of Spain, for Raleigh's descent upon his settlements in the island of St. Thomas in 1616.



SYON HOUSE.

By W. H. Jones, Esq. & Son.

A.D.
1603-1604

"I have sent you herewith," he writes to Cecil, "a letter directed to His Majesty. By the contents of it you may gather what friendship I require at your hands. If you think it sufficient let it passe. I have sent you my seal, and therefore I pray you make it up. If you dislike it, out of your judgment and advice, send it back again with your opinion.

"Perhaps I should have knowen more of these matters, if Rawleighe had not conceived, as he told me, that I could keepe nothing from you. I am now glad of those thoughts in him, and your friendship and mine never stood in better stede, if he have done anything not justifiable."¹

The display of sympathy or compassion for those whom he considered his enemies, was ever a serious cause of offence in the mind of the jealous and suspicious King; and from this time forth the Earl of Northumberland ceased to occupy a prominent place in the Council, and seems to have withdrawn from Court,² to devote himself to study, to the education of his children, in which he took much interest, and to building and gardening at Syon.³

It was probably quite as much personal as political feeling, that induced the Earl at this time to seek retire-

¹ Northumberland to Cecil, 21st July, 1603.—*State Papers*.

² The last time that we find the Earl's personal attendance upon the King recorded was on the occasion of a royal visit to Oxford, where, in common with several other peers, on 30th August, 1605, he received the degree of Master of Arts. The entry in the University books is as follows:

"Henry Percy, the most generous Count of Northumberland, a great encourager of learning and learned men, especially mathematicians, who, as others, have in a high manner celebrated his worth."—Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, part i. 312.

³ "The Manor of Isleworth-Syon, and Syon House, and the demesne lands with Free Warren and all Royalties and Appurtenances," had been granted to the Earl under Letters Patent dated July, 1604. He had previously occupied Syon Park and Dairy Farm, as a tenant under a lease from Elizabeth.

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ment. He had ceased to entertain the hope that under the new *régime* the English nobility would be restored to their ancient weight in the royal Councils ; while the atmosphere of the Court of King James could have proved little congenial to his fastidious tastes. The proud Percy would not consent to be jostled by the crowd of Scottish adventurers¹ who blocked the avenues to the throne, and scrambled, "like dogs over a bone," for scraps of the royal favour. He was by habit and disposition inclined to play the courtier, but could as little have brooked the violent outbreaks of James's capricious temper, as his coarse and vulgar familiarities.² He accordingly held himself aloof from scenes in which he could take no part without loss of dignity ; but there is no indication whatever of his having at this time engaged in political intrigues.³

With his accustomed imprudent candour he may very probably have given expression to his disdainful opinion of King James's Court ; remarks which his enemies would not fail to carry in exaggerated terms to the King, who had a better memory for injuries than for benefits ; who had from the first been offended at the magnificence⁴

¹ In later times the English nobles in like manner resented the intrusion of the Dutch and German followers of William of Orange and George of Hanover ; and, yet more recently, the influence of Scottish adventurers and office-seekers during the ascendancy of Lord Bute.

² It will be remembered that "Beagle" and "Ferret" were terms of endearment by which the King habitually addressed Cecil, and that Buckingham to the last used to subscribe himself as "Your Majesty's good dog."

³ It was not until after Northumberland's disgrace that such a charge was preferred against him. The English Ambassador at Madrid then wrote to Cecil : "A late secret inquiry is made by some great ones of this state whether there be any likelihood of liberty for the Earl of Northumberland. I have it lately said unto me with much asseveration that there was those that had, long before the restraint of that Lord, commission from the State to deal with him."—Sir Charles Cornwallis to Earl of Salisbury, 14th June, 1607. *Original State Papers*.

⁴ "The King was amazed at the magnificence and pomp of the northern peers . . . and very soon attempted to abate the greatness of the English nobility."—Osborne's *Traditional Memoirs*.

and independent attitude of the great English nobles; and who is also said to have resented Northumberland's intimacy with his son, the Prince Henry.¹

A D.
1604-1605

To humble the pride of such a man would be a grateful task to King James's jealous and ignoble nature, and it was not long before the opportunity presented itself.

It will be remembered that Thomas Percy, the trusted bearer of the secret letters between Northumberland and the King of Scotland,² had professed to have received from the latter verbal assurances of concessions to be made to the English Catholics in excess of those conveyed in his written communications. There is no reason to doubt the truth of his statements. James subsequently denied having in any way pledged himself upon the subject of religious toleration; but his own letter to the Earl stands upon record to contradict him,³ and Percy could at that time have had no object in representing the King as more favourable to the Catholic cause than he had expressed himself to be.

No satisfactory reason has ever been assigned for the fact that, as soon as he was firmly seated on the throne of England, King James assumed an attitude of decided hostility to the Catholics. His mother's devotion to that faith, and her sufferings in the cause of the Church of Rome, his own predilections in early life, and his anxious desire at this time to establish friendly relations with the Court of Spain,⁴ would, it might be thought, have

¹ Osborne says that the Prince, then in his fifteenth year, and having a great admiration for the Earl, whom he considered neglected and ill used, had in his favour "cast a malignant aspect on the houses of Suffolk and Salisbury."—*Traditional Memoirs*.

² He seems to have had a great power of ingratiating himself and inspiring confidence. Francis Osborne says that King James was so pleased with him that in token of his trust and favour he permitted Percy on several nights "to lay in his chamber."

³ See *ante*, p. 240.

⁴ At the request of the Spanish Ambassador the King had early in

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combined to predispose him to toleration and leniency. By that strange perversity, however, which led him so frequently to show favour to those who had been most conspicuous as the enemies and persecutors of Queen Mary, and even to those who had originally opposed his own succession,¹ he now alienated the support and good will of a large and influential class of his subjects, and forged weapons for the use of many of his foreign enemies, by putting in force the most vexatious, if not the most stringent, of Elizabeth's penal laws against the ancient ritual.

* * *

Thomas Percy, one of the two sons of Edward Percy of Beverley,² was born about 1560. He had been bred a Protestant, and in his youth had been turbulent³ and

1605 allowed a force of two thousand horsemen, all Catholics, to be raised in England for service with the Spaniards in the Low Countries.

"There are certaine young gentlemen that shew themselves very desirous to serve the Archduke in the Wars of Flaunders, and desire leave to goe, as Sir Charles Ley, and Sir Josselyn and Sir Richard Percy. The Spanish Ambassador urges to have two thousand voluntaries, which Sir Charles Percy shall comand."—Rowland Hill to Earl of Shrewsbury, April, 1605. Lodge's *Illustrations*, vol. iii. 281. The force was actually raised, but the Earl would not allow his brother Charles to accept the command, which then devolved upon Lord Arundel of Wardour.—See Letter from Earl of Northumberland to the Council, 14th November, 1605. *Original State Papers*.

¹ "Brave Fortescue, that did first oppose the Scottish succession, but upon caution, enjoyed his liberty without any more considerable loss than that sustained by the exchange of the Chancellor's place in the Exchequer for that in the Duchy of Lancaster; whereas Northumberland, that had drawn his sword in his [King James's] favour, was made captive, disgraced and insulted over by his enemies."—Osborne's *Traditional Memoirs*.

² Son of Jocelyn, the fourth son of the fourth Earl of Northumberland (see *ante*, vol. i. p. 308), and therefore a distant cousin of the ninth Earl. For the pedigree of this branch of the family see Appendix X.

³ In February, 1596, the Earl of Essex writes to Mr. Justice Beaumont: "I understand by this bearer, my servant Meyricke [probably Sir Gilly Meyrick] of your willing disposition to favour Thomas Percy, a near kinsman to my brother of Northumberland, who is in trouble for some offence imputed unto him. I pray you to continue the same, that thereby his life may not be in hazard. He is a gentleman

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licentious, but became an enthusiastic devotee on his conversion to the Church of Rome. He had for ten years past been in the confidential employment of the Earl, who had made him his Constable of Alnwick Castle,¹ and in 1604 admitted him into the Band of Gentleman Pensioners.

As the Earl's chief agent in the North he seems to have acted with harshness and dishonesty; and it is surprising that the numerous complaints preferred against him by the tenantry, and which, confirmed as they are in various quarters, leave little room to doubt their justice, should not have caused him to forfeit the confidence of his employer.²

Northumberland, who appears to have held no strong religious convictions,³ had, as we have seen by his letters to the King, a considerable Catholic following, communication with whom, with a view to securing their

well descended and of good parts, and very able to do his country good service; you shall do a thing very acceptable to us both and not disagreeable with equity, which we will upon all occasions deserve of you."
—*Alnwick MSS.*, vol. v.

Two years later we find Thomas Percy's name in a list of recusants confined in Wood Street compter. One of his fellow prisoners was William Richardson, a Jesuit of Seville College, who was tried by the Lord Chief Justice "for having come to England contrary to the statute," and, in spite of his prayer for a short respite, was hanged, drawn, and quartered on the following morning.—*State Papers*.

¹ His name first appears in the list of the Earl's officers in the North, in October, 1594. In the various letters from his employer he is addressed as "My loving cozen, Tho. Percy, my Constable of Alnwick."

² The documents relating to these charges throw so much light on the character of Thomas Percy, and his own correspondence so strongly shows his capacity and plausibility, that they are quoted *in extenso* in Appendix XI. These records also serve to illustrate the despotic powers then wielded by the great landowners, and, in their absence, by their agents, over the property and the liberty of their tenantry.

³ Hallam describes the Earl as being "rather destitute of religion than a zealot for popery" (*Const. History*, vol. ii., p. 47), but this learned writer, in common with other historians, was in error in believing him to have been a Catholic by profession. He had, as is shown, been brought up a Protestant, and had always outwardly conformed to that faith.

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support of James's claims, he had maintained through the agency of Thomas Percy. There is no doubt that in reliance upon James's promises, Percy had held out hopes of concessions to be made to his co-religionists, and when, instead of their fulfilment, the Catholics found themselves treated with exceptional severity, they charged him with having either artfully deluded and betrayed them, or of having allowed himself to be stupidly duped. Smarting under these reproaches, and stung by wounded vanity, he seized the first opportunity of revenging himself; threw in his lot with the English and foreign Jesuits and conspirators, and, by his resolution and energy, soon became a guiding spirit among the desperate men who determined to rid England of a perjured and heretic sovereign.¹

It will only be necessary to refer to the well-worn story of the Gunpowder Plot so far as to show the part played by the conspirator whose crime involved the reputation, the fortunes and the liberty of his innocent kinsman. The more carefully the mass of official documents relating to this matter are studied,² the more incomprehensible it becomes how a suspicion of the Earl of Northumberland's complicity could ever have been seriously entertained.

Thomas Percy was now in his forty-sixth year, though premature greyness of hair made him appear older. He is described as "in figure tall and handsome, his eyes large and lively, and the expression

¹ "Percy, who was one of the House of Northumberland, and at that time one of the King's Pensioners, according to the bluntness of his temper, did offer himself for the service, and that he would without any more ado undertake to assassinate His Majesty."—*Philopater*.

He was indeed always a man of action rather than words: "About the middle of Easter Term, Thomas Percy, as hote as Hotspur himself, came puffing to Catesby's lodging in Lambeth, and asked, 'Shall we always be talking here and never doe anything?'"—Speed.

² They form a separate collection under the title of *The Gunpowder Plot Book*, in the Record Office.

of his countenance pleasing ; though grave and notwithstanding the boldness of his character, his manners were gentle and quiet.”¹

His conduct throughout the desperate work in which he became engaged proves him to have possessed much courage, and strength of will and character. For a whole fortnight he was occupied with Catesby in piercing through the stone wall, and excavating the ground, of his own house, in order to gain access to the adjoining premises ; and his Jesuit accomplice expresses his surprise that “men of their quality should do more than as many workmen accustomed to earn their daily bread by labour,” and wonders how they, “who were unusually tall men, could endure for so long a time the intense fatigue of working, day and night, in the stooping posture rendered necessary by the straitness of the place.”²

When the preparations for the conspiracy had been completed, and the mine had been, literally as well as figuratively, laid, Thomas Percy proceeded to the North, and according to custom received from the agents of the Earl's different estates the rents collected by them, with the avowed object of conveying these moneys to London. The sum so received by him exceeded £3,000, which he had determined to expend in the furtherance of the plot. He returned to London on Friday, the 1st November, but did not show himself to his employer, who believed him still to be in the North. On the following Sunday, one of Percy's servants, named Davison, called

¹ *Father Greenway's MS.* In the proclamation for his capture he is thus described : “The said Percy is a tall man with a great broad beard, a good face ; the colour of his beard and head myngled with white haire, but the Head more white than his Beard. He stoopeth somewhat in the shoulders, is well coloured in the face, long-footed, small-legged.”—*Original State Papers.*

² *Father Greenway's MS.*

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upon Sir Jocelyne Percy (a nephew of the conspirator in the service of the Earl) [†] to inquire after his master, and it is evident that, but for this indiscretion, Thomas Percy would have remained in concealment till after the accomplishment of his designs. Finding, however, that his presence in town would become known or suspected, he thought it more prudent to appear in public, and accordingly waited upon the Earl at Syon House on Monday the 4th November, and, after dining there, proceeded to visit other members of the family at Essex House. The conspirator's visit to Syon House on the day preceding the attempted crime became the ground of suspicion against the Earl, but in point of fact affords the strongest evidence of his innocence of all complicity in, or knowledge of, the plot. Would Thomas Percy, in presence of the numerous guests seated at table, have endeavoured to obtain information from an accomplice on the subject of the approaching meeting of Parliament? Would he not rather have avoided such a topic before strangers, and chosen a more convenient moment for seeking to ascertain from an ally what foundation there existed for the rumours already prevalent, that the plot had been discovered? Again, the Earl was then in possession of the fact that Lord Monteagle had received a letter of warning, and that this letter had been communicated to the Council of which he was a member. Would he not, had he been a favourer, or even cognisant, of Percy's design, have informed him of this discovery, and warned him of the danger that awaited the conspirators?

Thomas Percy, on the contrary, left Syon House reassured as to the alarming rumours; and not until the arrest of Guy Faux did he and his accomplices seek safety in flight. Hotly pursued, and brought to bay, Percy and

[†] See his quaint deposition, Appendix XII.

Catesby determined to sell their lives dearly. Standing back to back they killed or disabled several of their assailants, but were finally brought to the ground by "one bullet of musket shot" which penetrated both bodies.¹ A.D. 1605

When we consider the atrocious character of the crime contemplated, and so nearly accomplished, and the common tendency of such acts to produce a panic followed by indiscriminate vengeance, the moderation of King James's Government, and of the populace, becomes matter for surprise. The hideous massacre of their co-religionists in Paris on St. Bartholomew's night was still fresh in the memory of Englishmen, and a general retaliatory rising against the Catholics would have been an intelligible, if not an excusable, national impulse. No such feeling, however, betrayed itself; the offenders were as a rule tried in due course of law, and punished with no exceptional severity; and even the more stringent enforcement of the existing laws against the members of the Church of Rome seemed intended rather as a demonstration against the Catholic powers of the Continent, than a penalty upon English conspirators.

This moderation makes the severe treatment of the Earl of Northumberland the more remarkable. Thomas

¹ *Speed's Chronicle*. The shot by which Catesby was killed upon the spot and Percy mortally wounded was fired by one Thomas Hall, whose name appears on the Exchequer Rolls as late as in 1640, as the recipient of a pension of two shillings a day in reward for the act. There were, however, several claimants for this honour, among others John Street of Worcester, who petitions the Earl of Salisbury for a reward of no less than £1,000, or an equivalent annual pension, for having "carried himself so resolute . . . that it was his fortune at two shootes to slay three of the principall of them [the conspirators] viz. Percy, Catesby and Wright, and to hurt Ruckwoode sore besides; and since spared no cost to provide chirurgery, and all other necessary meanes for the preservacōn of their lives that were sore hurt, attending y^m hither at his own charges, without having anie benefit in ye world by them."—Lodge's *Illustrations*, vol. iii. p. 300.

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Percy was known to have been his kinsman and confidential servant,¹ to have been in possession of funds belonging to him, and to have visited him at Syon House on the evening preceding the attempt. These circumstances served to arm the Earl's numerous enemies at Court, and although they would not warrant a powerful Peer, of hitherto irreproachable loyalty and honour, being openly charged with complicity in so foul a crime, they sufficed to implant suspicion in the mind of the jealous King, and to justify to his own peculiar conscience the arbitrary measures which, as time went by, he thought fit to adopt.

To the inquiries of the Earl of Worcester, who was in the first instance despatched to Essex House, Northumberland, being awakened from his morning sleep, replied with "an air of scorn and confidence," that undoubtedly Thomas Percy had dined with him on the evening of 4th November; expressing at the same time some anxiety as to the rents which that person had received in the North and still retained in his hands, and his willingness to render every assistance for his apprehension. At a meeting of the Council on the same day, at which the King presided, it was determined that the Earl be "for the time placed under restraint," with the Archbishop of Canterbury (Richard Bancroft) at his palace at Croydon.

Cecil, in his letters to the King's representatives at

¹ Osborne remarks that Thomas Percy had been in confidential communication with the King, in whose chamber "he had lain many a night while employed in private by him with the English Catholics. Yet His Majesty would have taken it ill to have been thought a papist, or a conspirator for Elizabeth's death." He scouts the idea of the Earl's complicity in so foul a plot, which "did not suit with anything I could observe in his temper; much less with a person of his honour and fortune, to exchange so happy a present condition for any future advantage he could hope to scramble out from amongst the cinders and ruins of his country."—*Traditional Memoirs*.

foreign courts, thus endeavours to justify, and at the same time to minimise, the importance of this measure :— A.D. 1605

“It hath been thought meet in pollicie of State (all circumstances considered) to commit the Earl of Northumberland to the Archbishop of Canterbury, there to be honorably used untill things be more quiett; whereof if you should hear any Judgment made, *as if His Majesty or his Councill could harbour a thought of such a savadge practise to be lodged in such a nobleman's breast, you shall doe well to suppress it as a malicious Discourse and Invention*; this being only done to satisfie the World that nothing be undone which belongeth to pollicie of State, when the whole Monarchy was proscribed to dissolution; and being no more than himself discreetly approved as necessarie, when he received the Sentence of the Council for his Restrainte.”¹

There is no evidence on record to confirm the statement that the Earl had “approved” of the course adopted against him; but, however this may have been, his language was that of a man who had nothing to fear or to conceal, and who was anxious to contribute, by all means within his power, to the detection of the crime and its perpetrators.

On 8th November he writes to the Council from Croydon :—

“I shalbe gladde as matters falles out to store you with circumstances, to the ende that the bare truth may appeare. Amongst the rest forgett not this one, I praye you. First by the letters of Ffotherley,² you may see how he [Percy] stored himselfe with my money, as passing with three Portmantues filled upon Friday, at

¹ Earl of Salisbury to Sir C. Cornwallis, 7th November, 1605.—*Winwood's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 172.

² The Earl's Receiver or Auditor, whose letters to him, dated 7th and 8th November were enclosed in this communication.

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night, at Ware. Secondlie, his horse kept in diett at Doncaster for his retorne ; and Wednesdaye, the day after this horrible fact should be committed, was the tyme appointed for him to meet with the rest of my Money and the rest of my Companie. Thirdly, that by Ffotherley's letter your lordships may see Percy's excuse ; for the money that was wanting was to be receaved at London, soe as there was a greater proportion of horses sente downe by appointment, than there was that came upp.¹

" Ffourthlie, as most palpable ; this was one. Ffriday was the day hee came to London ; I, neither anie of myne, did see him till Monday twelve of the clock, when he came to Sion to me ; went away presentlie after dinner, after he had *Sawsed mee with a Gudgeon* ;² and then appeared to the rest of my people at Essex House, from whence hee was to passe as hee told me, and then told them, to Ware, that night ; givinge them all the same gudgeon that hee hadde bestowed on me before, as alsoe to my brother Charles, my brother Alan, Sir Edward Ffrances Edmund Powton, Giles Greene and Captain Witlock, as may appeare if they be examined. Soe as, my Lords, it is probable I should not have seen him at Sion uppon Monday, if one accident had not happened ; and that was this : A man of his came to the Courte to my lodging uppon Sondag to enquire for Thomas Percy ;³ this man was a stranger to all the Companie, and never seene before by anie of them ; the fashion of the man your lordships

¹ The Earl's northern rents used, according to the universal practice, to be conveyed to London in hard cash by pack-horses.

² Meaning "deceived me with a falsehood." This is confirmed by the deposition of Robert Keyes, one of the conspirators, who states : "Percy boasted that he had told the Earl of Northumberland a lie to get money from him."—*Gunpowder Plot Book*.

³ This is borne out in full detail in the deposition of Sir Jocelyne Percy, Appendix XIII.

shall understande, to the ende he may bee caught hereafter. If this man by this meanes, had not discovered [divulged] that his master, Thomas Percy, had byne in towne by this Accidente; and that he fownde that my followers of necessitie must knowe it, I thinke I should not have seene him uppon Monday at Syon, and the rest of my companie that afternoone at Essex Howse, one of the greatest arguments of suspition laid to my chardge. Though I be somewhat tedious in these trifles I say to your Lordships they be matters of moment to me, and I hope you will pardon me, for I saie still, *the more you knowe, the better it will be for me.*"¹

On the following day Northumberland addresses the King in terms which indicate that while he was conscious of having given offence, and of having justly incurred the royal displeasure by his negligence, he does not admit the possibility of James seriously harbouring any suspicion of his complicity in the plot.

"SIR,

"The true integrity of my soule towards you hastens me to put all conceits of anger owt of y^r Ma^{ty} hart towards y^r faithfullest seruant. the want of y^r presence besides that it is disgracefull to me in the world grieues my inwardest thoughts. Y^r Ma : in y^r function vppon earth is a God ; your self owt of y^r justice and mercy seekes to imitate that great Master. He forgiues those that repent. I auowe that I am sorrie in my minde of y^r displeasure (now got by my passions, and neuer imbraced in my

¹ *Alnwick MSS.*, vol. ci. p. 4. The copy of this letter bears the following marginal note in the handwriting of the Earl :—

"By this narrative I endeavoured to make probable that Thomas Percy would not have come uppon Monday to Sion, if, by his man's enquiry for him at my lodginge at Courte, hee had not byne discovered to be in London."

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thoughts wth the lest jot of Intention) I beseche y^r ma : therefore hold on that imitaõn the world takes notice of in you in this case of mine ; for y^r ma^{ty} knowes not how much it stinges me y^r displeasure. At this time the burden is much more heauy, because the world may take jealousy as things fall owt at this pñt, and lay a greater imputaõn to my charge, then euer they can rite me in hereafter. Saue, I humbly craue y^r ma^{ty}, the bird in my bosome : I meane my loyalty, or the lest imaginaõn y^t may fall wth in the compas of fooles censures. If I haue not endured enough allready of y^r indignaõn for my offence, returne me hereafter to begin againe frõ whence y^r Ma^{ty} shall free me for the pñt. If my seruice at any time haue deserued this fauor, or may hereafter, lett these lines moue his hart to forgett it, to whose person and seruice he is deuoted for euer that desires the attribute of one of

“Y^r ma^{ty} loyallest subiects and

“humble vassals,

“NORTHUD.¹

“Croydon, this pñt

“Thursday.”

It was not until the morning of the 10th November that the Earl received the tidings of Thomas Percy having fallen, sorely wounded, into the hands of his pursuers. Had he been conscious of the slightest blame in the matter charged against him, he would have been but too rejoiced at the prospect of the removal of such an accomplice ; but he now, on the contrary, urged the authorities to employ the best surgical skill for the preservation of the life of the culprit, with a view to his own vindication :—

“I heare Mr. Percy is taken,” he writes to the Council,

¹ *Original State Papers—Dom.* ; James I. Record Office, vol. xvi. No. 41.

DEATH OF THOMAS PERCY.

"(if that I heare is true); but withall shotte through the shoulders with a muskett. Our Surgeons in these countryes are not over excellent for a shott; if Heate take it, the patient with a fever will soone make an ende. *None but hee can shewe me as cleare as the day, or as darke as the night.* Therefore I hope it shall not offende you if I require Haste; for now will hee tell truly, if ever; being readie to make his accompt to Almighty God."¹

While these words were being written the wretched conspirator had passed away, and there is no record of his dying deposition having been taken. There is good reason for believing, however, that the King felt relieved of a great burden when he learnt that his former confidential and much-trusted messenger was dead.²

A report was now spread that the Earl had received a warning to absent himself from the opening of Parliament, and that he had determined to do so without communication with the authorities. Not one atom of evidence was adduced in support of this charge; even Salisbury, at this time, refers to it as only a vague rumour.³

¹ All the Earl's letters from the Tower, in the course of this chapter, for which no authority is quoted in a footnote, are derived from the originals, or from copies collated by the Bishop of Dromore, in the collection of MSS. at Alnwick Castle.

² The following memorandum, in the handwriting and under the signature of the Bishop of Dromore, is preserved among the *Alnwick MSS.* :—

"The present Earl of Hardwick informs me that he had heard his father, the late Lord Chancellor, tell this remarkable anecdote concerning the gunpowder conspirators. That when the account was brought to King James of some of them having been pursued into Worcester, where part of them were secured, and the rest killed by the *Posse Comitatus*, the King eagerly inquired what they had done with Percy, and when they told him that he was killed, the King could not conceal his satisfaction, but seemed relieved from an anxious suspense, that evidently showed he was glad that Percy was in a condition to tell no tales."

³ Other of the Earl's enemies did not hesitate to name him as one of the chief conspirators, and to circulate their calumnies at foreign courts.

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"Northumberland," he writes to Lord Dunfermline on the 1st December, "*was supposed to have received a general warning from Percy, but not of any reasonable knowledge of the real plot;*"¹ yet it was against imputations resting upon such grounds as these that he was required to defend himself.

"Pardon me, I pray your Lordships, if I insiste still upon this Ground, that the more particulars yow know, the better it will be for me; and in that kind to become an humble Sutor that I may be an Agent. The seruic that I can doe in this case is but to present to your memories sutch things as are most lykely to give means of discovery. Therefore consider, I desier your lordships, the course of my lyfe; whether it hath not leaned more of late yeares to private domesticall pleasures, than to other ambitions. Examine but my humors in Buildings, Gardenings, and Private Expenses, theas two yeares past. Looke but upon those few arms at Syon; my stable of hors at this instant; the Dispersednes of them and of my seruants; the littell concours of followers; and your Lordships will fynd they be very consonant one to another, and all of them to put by all ielousy. Weighe but a little further, that not any one of theas men yett knowen, or that have busied themselves in this action, soe mutche as their faces have been noted of me (Percy only excepted). Besides

On the strength of such reports his own kinsmen turned against him. Sir William Browne writes to Lord Lisle from Flushing on 9th November:—

"The States haue, on Wensday next, proclaymed a solemne day of Fast and Prayer, and that only for a Thanksgiving to God for the Kings late deliuerance. . . . Seing the Earle of Northumberland hath so villainously and deuillishly forgot himself, I am sory that ever I honored him, and more sory that I have a chyld that carryes his name."—*Sidney Papers*, vol. ii. p. 316.

¹ *State Papers*. Sir Edmond Hoby writes to Sir Thomas Edmonds on 19th November: "*Some say that Northumberland received the like letter that Monteagle did, but concealed it.*"—*Ibid.*

looke but into the store of Treasor that I had gathered into my purse against thys tyme (whiche I will be aschamed to write but your lordships may understande uppon Enquire), and there will, in somme of them be found circumstances that will leade on to a better and certainer knowledge of the thing in question. In what sorte, or howe, or to whome, out of theas perticulars your Lordships shall procede, I leaue to your graver iudgments ; but suere I am out of theas, coniectures may be made and somewhat bolted out, if the sentence be not true *Qui vadit plane vadit sane*. Theas things I write not but in way of rememoracons, bycause they are things pryuat and not open to your lordships' knowledges ; yett sutche things as may give satisfaction if they be scanned.

"I hope your Lordships will pardon me if I be earnest in this cause, for the Obloquie lies as yett heauy vpon me ; and that your Lordships will as well embrace, and bundle upp circumstances out of your charites that makes for me, as thos that gives suspitions."

On the same day he requested Salisbury to examine one of his confidential servants as to the recent proceedings of Thomas Percy, "by which meanes I shall lay myselfe the more open, and perhapps get some of my lost goodes againe."

The attempt directly to incriminate the Earl in the plot having failed, his enemies now endeavoured to establish his connection with the general intrigues of the Catholic party. With this object in view, Popham, the Lord Chief Justice, subjected him to a lengthened examination ; but all that could be elicited was, the unwelcome evidence that King James, before his accession to the English throne, had authorised Northumberland

* Earl of Northumberland to the Council, 15th November, 1605.—*Original State Papers*, Record Office, vol. xvi. No. 77.

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to promise indulgence to the Catholics in return for their adhesion to his cause.

"In the late Queen's time the King allowed me to give hopes to the English Catholics, which I did, but went no farther"; and although it suited the policy of James to deny having given such encouragement, the fact stands established on the unquestionable evidence of letters written under his own hand. The Earl, indeed, had no personal sympathy with the Catholic party; and, as Thomas Winter stated in his confession, although the conspirators had at first believed that he was in favour of their cause, they soon discovered that they had nothing to hope from him, being informed by Thomas Percy that "for matters of religion the Earl troubled not much himself."¹

On the day following his examination the Earl supplemented his evidence by this letter to the Council:—

"My Lords, yesterday with standing soe long and talkinge soe long, my spiritts weare soe wearied as perhapps I opened not some circumstances soe at lardge as was requisitt for me. Your Lordships promised all circumstances should be wayed with one another, therefore I make bolde to presente you with this more at lardge. Whereas one interrogatory was, whether I had at any time promised the Papists to stande with them, or take theire partes? or some such like kinde of promise or protestacōn, (I doe not perfectly remember the interrogatory,) I dare avow that since the Queen's death, never any man livinge hearde me say such a worde. Before her Majesties death, *uppon commaundmente I receaved from the Kinge*, (if that commaundmente Percy brought me weare true,) what I might saie to give them comforte of tolleracōns, or

¹ *Gunpowder Plot Book.*

that the Kinge would be indifferent, or that I could doe them all the good I could, *to the ende to holde them firm to his Majestie, suspecting by the generall opinion and voyce, that they affected the Infanta's title, or might doe so if they were not helde on with hopes; and to this ende shall you finde all my letters to his Ma^{tie} in this sorte, and then perhapps I said that which would not have byne well said now; yet I protest I remember no Particulars.*"

No statement could be more honest or straightforward; and the alleged facts are so fully confirmed by the secret correspondence, that it is difficult to understand how the King could have ventured to call them in question. Equally clear is it that Northumberland's plea for the Catholics had been dictated solely by consideration for James's better reception in England, and of this also no one was so well aware as the King.

"Nowe my Lords," so the letter proceeds, "it is requisitt that I doe lay downe circumstances and truthes that will cleare *whatsoever was said in that tyme, was don with an honest intention to obey the King, and doe him service*, and one is this: the wordel (world) knowes that I am no Papist; the wordel knows no man is more obedient to the laws of the Church of England than I am; and the wordel may knowe I am noe Supporter of Recusants, neither is my house pestered with them, some one or two old servants to my House excepted. Doth your lordships thinke that my counsels, both to the King and amongst your lordships, ever leaninge and stiff for upholding the States (of Holland), and favouring them in all that little power I had, could meane to make myselfe a partner with the Papists? and was there not one mayne example to witnesse this last Summer, by being so earnest against my brother Charles his going to the Arch Dukes, that I diswaded

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him, crossed him with it underhand, and made the Kinge acquainted with it as some of your lordships doth very well understand ?¹

“ My lords, I will make an end abruptlie, but with the request that, as your lordships hath byne so iust as to saie that circumstances should be waied with circumstances, soe your lordships in your examinacōn will as well picke out circumstances to cleare me, as to caste me. And soe I humblie take my leave, and rest,

“ Your Lordships to doe you service,

“ H. NORTHUMBERLAND.”²

From the postscript attached, it appears that it was also now attempted to implicate the Earl in Raleigh's plots, and that he was required to furnish explanations of his correspondence with him several years before.

“ To be daintie (reticent) I knowe breeds suspition, yet oftentimes forgettfulnesse appears to be dainties when it is not. Therefore, for the letter received from Sir Walter Raleigh it was by Fitz James himselfe, as I remember, to be knighted ; and one more, but by whome I knowe not, I protest, but that it was for some arguments to be delivered the King for his delivery (liberation) and at least two years since. Hee never had letters from me since his troubles. Thus much I write because I would have your lordships to know all, and I to appeare in my right cullors, and let interpretacōn to be made accordinge to your consciences which I refferr to God.”

Two days later he writes again :—

“ As your lordship's interrogetories are generall for the

¹ This refers to Charles Percy's desire for a command under the Archduke in the Low Countries.—See *ante*, foot note 4, p. 251.

² Northumberland to the Council, 14th November, 1605.—*Original State Papers*.

most, soe it cannot but chuse, but the memorie of man must be forgetfull in the particulars unexpressed yet unfoulded in these generallities. To one interrogatory last demanded I answered negatively as my remembrance then served me . . . the interrogatory was this:—‘What discourse of matter of importance was at my table the Monday the 4th of November?’ My answer was ‘none’ (as far as I did remember), since which tyme a poore man of myne, that waiteth in my chamber, by way of other talke, made me remember that as wee sate at dinner Percy asked Sir William Lowre what newes of the parlements, who answered none that hee heard of. With that Percy drawes out a little paper wherein was the somme of the articles agreed of by the Commissioners, which weare five, as I remember, saying: ‘we have then more newes in the north than you have heare.’ They lookinge uppon those articles, I asked what they weare; they shewed them me and I red them. . . . What they said one to the other I knowe not, but as I hearde was not materiall, neither do I speake it for that, but as an argumente wherefore *Percy came thither that day, not to give me warninge but to have some light, and whether he could discover anything or noe.* How probable this is, that it was put out for a bayte, to see whether I understood anything of the Lord Monteagle’s letter; and this doth not much disagree from that your Lordships said, that Percy (to some of his companions said), ‘I will go to Syon and then I will tell you more,’ for it is to be supposed that either out of my Lord Monteagle’s inwardnes with me, or out of being a Privy Counsellor, I must understand somewhat if things were discovered, and yet durst hee not aske me whether there weare anything or noe.

“Now your Lordships know the circumstances, I refer it to your wisdomes what constructione to make

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of it, and *whether, if I had been warned, such a tale had not better have byne in private than at dinner.*"

Is the following, addressed to the Earl of Exeter, the letter of one conscious of any fault in the matter charged against him?

"My Lord, Because I know how neare you are to me, and that I knowe you love me, I cannot chuse but thinke that a protestacō of inocency wilbe wellcome to you. For your satisfaction I rather undertake this letter than for any other Ende. Before this tyme, and whiles matters weare in Heate, I did forbear, because then it was not proper to vow and to protest. Tyme, I knew, would clear matters better, and therefore now I will vow and protest uppon my saluation, and that ys: that *I praye the Greate God of Heaven may lay all the plagues that ever was inflicted uppon mortall man uppon me and my whole posteritie, and that neither I nor they may euer see his face, or enioye the blessinge and conforte of heaven, if either in knowledge or conjecture or practice or concealmente, or any kinde else to me knowne, I weare privie to this horrible Act; and this keep as a memoriall from me to the shame of myne honor and the blotte of my whole House, if it be not true.* Your noble brother doth deale noblie and iustlie with me, and it is no shame for him to receave thanks from you for doinge iustlie with me. Comende me to my Lady my aunte,¹ and tell her that I, that have byne an honest man in a tyme that I receaved no favours, cannot chuse but be one in a tyme that I receaved some. And soe with my best wishes I rest

"Your Lordships true frend and nephew,

"H. N.

"17 of Novemb^r 1605."

¹ Lord Exeter, it will be remembered, had married a sister of the Earl's mother, a younger daughter of the last Lord Latimer.

LORD SALISBURY JUSTIFIES HIS MEASURES.

"Postscripta : I might have chosen whether I would have given you this satisfaction, for it neither furthers me nor hinders in my innocency, which must be proved by other circumstances of which I hope you have already seene some, or els this will doe noe good but to discharge my soul to you for your satisfaction."

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So far the examination had only served to establish the complete absence of incriminatory evidence against the Earl; but King James, smarting under that sense of past obligations so painfully felt by ignoble natures, and glad of an opportunity of humbling the haughty English peer who had refused to mingle in the servile throng that crawled and cringed around the throne, allowed no exculpatory facts, however, well proven, to divert him from his course, and three weeks after the discovery of the plot signed the warrant for committal of the Earl of Northumberland to the Tower, as a preliminary to his trial in the Star Chamber.

27th
November.

Once more Burghley, or, as we should now call him, Salisbury,¹ thought it necessary to give to his agents at foreign courts an explanation of these proceedings, in order to justify in the public mind the harsh treatment of one who had many powerful friends and sympathisers at home and abroad.

After stating that the Lords Montagu, Stourton, and Mordaunt, had been sent to the Tower because of their connection and intimacy with some of the principal conspirators, and because Catesby had declared that they had been warned and would certainly absent themselves from London, *which they actually did*, he proceeds in this apologetic tone:—

"You may the better satisfy your own judgment in the like course taken with the Earl of Northumberland,

¹ He had been created Earl of Salisbury in the previous May.

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on whom *though it cannot be cast that he was absent*, yet because Percy only named him and the Lord Monteagle,¹ and that Monteagle had a letter of warning, together with the circumstances of Percy's inwardness, and his coming out of the North three days before the time, and his resort to the Earl not twentie hours before this villainy should have been acted, *the presumption hath been thought sufficient* to commit him to the like place and custody; and thus much the rather, because the Earl, upon the death of the Queen, and after, had declared often to the King, that the Catholics had offered themselves to depend upon him in all their courses, so far as His Majesty making him know his pleasure; and he doubted not but to contain (restrain) them from any extremity.

"Thus you have as much as may satisfy all reports of more or less than I have written; wherein, assure yourself, that such is the justice of this time, as if no more appear than this, which may well deserve as much as is done, there shall be no such rules of rigorous policy practised upon a Nobleman of his blood and qualitie, as not to set him free again without touch of his estate: assuring you, for mine own parte, that although it is *not improbable* that Percy gave him some general warning, according to his *resolution* (?) with his confederates, and that *there is no direct proof whether the Earl would have been present at the Parliament or not*, because the hour was prevented of the execution, wherein it may be said he might in discretion have forborne to offer any show of absence till the very instant; yet I believe that Percy never durst acquaint a nobleman of his birth, alliance and

¹ This refers to the fact of some of the prisoners having confessed that, when the question of warning their friends was under discussion by the conspirators, Percy had expressed a wish to save the lives of Northumberland and Monteagle, if it were possible.

disposition, with so unnatural and savage a plot, as that wherein so many whom himself loved must have perished. Only this is the misfortune, that Catesby and Percy being dead, his innocency, or his guiltiness, must both depend upon circumstances of other persons and times.”¹

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The animus of the King and his minister towards the Earl is strikingly illustrated by the contrast presented in their treatment of the Lords Montagu, Mordaunt, and Stourton ; against the two latter of whom there existed, if not positive proof, yet very strong suspicion of complicity in the plot, and certainly full evidence of their having been warned of the contemplated crime ; of their having suppressed this knowledge ; and finally of their having actually absented themselves from London on the appointed day, and engaged relays of horses against any emergency.

Yet while Northumberland remained in durance, they were only charged with the offence of having disregarded the King's summons to Parliament, and were, shortly after, liberated on payment of a fine.

No time was lost in seeking for such evidence as might afford the groundwork of formal charges of complicity against the Earl. His castles in the North were seized and searched under a royal warrant,² and

¹ Earl of Salisbury to Sir Thomas Edmonds (Minister Resident at Madrid) 2nd December, 1605.—Birch's *Historical View*, p. 244.

² Sir Henry Witherington was ordered to take possession of Alnwick, Tynemouth, Prudhoe, and Cockermouth Castles, upon hearing of which the Earl wrote to Salisbury praying that “Percy's closet door at Alnwick might be sealed up, as it contained, among other papers, bonds of Witherington's to the value of a thousand marks which he might be tempted to dispose of to his own advantage. I have lost enough already and loath to lose more.”—*Alnwick MSS.*, vol. viii. The losses referred to were defalcations on the part of Thomas Percy who, writes Wickliffe, the Earl's Auditor, “appears to have robbed your Lordship *in toto* of £1,929, and I dare engage my credit when the bonds and bills left in his custody come to be examined you will be found to be deceived of no small sums of money besides this now appearing.” Fotherley, another agent, subsequently puts the sums misappropriated by Percy at £3,000.—*Ibid.*

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Salisbury took pains to intimate that, although there were strong grounds for suspicion against him, "considering the greatness of his house, and the improbability that he should be acquainted with such a barbarous plot, being a man of honour and valour, His Majesty is rather induced to believe that whatsoever anie of the traitors have spoken of him hath been rather their vaunts than upon any other good ground ; so that I think his Lordship will the next term be granted his libertie upon honorable and gracious terms, which, for myne own part, *though there hath never been any extraordinarie dearness between us*, I write because this state is very barren of men of great blood and real sufficiencie together." *

More than six months elapsed before an indictment could be framed, calculated to bring the Earl within the power of the law. The zealous Attorney-General was obliged to admit his inability to implicate him formally in the "two horrible and unnatural treasons," laid to the charge of the notorious conspirators, namely: the organisation of a foreign invasion of the Kingdom, and the attempted explosion of the House of Parliament. He was, however, enabled to frame a series of charges, which though falling short of High Treason could by legal ingenuity be distorted into "divers crimes very great, and high contempts, misprisions and offences against His Majesty."

* Earl of Salisbury to E. Brouncker.—*State Papers, Ireland*.

"But either Lord Salisbury was insincere in these assurances of an intention to release Northumberland, if nothing further appeared against him, or evidence must have been laid before the Council which was concealed from the public eye at the time, and which does not exist at the present day. Among the State Papers there is nothing which tends to show that he had any previous knowledge of the Plot, *indeed a criminal implication in the designs of the conspirators was never formally imputed to him*."—Jardine's *Gunpowder Plot*, p. 161.

Salisbury did not pretend to have any grounds for his suspicion that the Earl had received a warning from Percy of the projected outrage, for in a letter to Lord Dunfermline of 1st December, 1605, he says: "*Northumberland was supposed to have received a general warning from Percy, but not of any reasonable knowledge of the real Plot*."—*State Papers*.

By this means each separate charge was based upon such a modicum of fact as made it extremely difficult for the accused to admit or deny the truth of any one article in the indictment, without involving himself in the meshes of false inference and unfair conclusions; or of incurring the suspicion of untruthfulness or wilful concealment of facts. To prejudice the Prisoner in the mind of his judges, Sir Edward Coke further laid it down, that although the indictment comprised only the minor charges of contempts and misdemeanors, "other matters of higher nature" were reserved for consideration at "some other tyme and place at His Majesty's pleasure."¹

The accusations upon which the Earl was now brought to trial were as follows :—

1. Having, during the life of the late Queen, employed Thomas Percy to procure from King James favour on behalf of English Catholics "thus derogating from the King's authority by stealing away the hearts of his subjects, and making himself head of the most factious and trayterous faction in the Kingdome."
2. Having admitted Thomas Percy into the band of Gentlemen Pensioners "knowing him to be a Jesuit Recusant and Papist," without having imposed upon him the Oath of Supremacy.
3. Having while under restraint upon suspicion of complicity in the Gunpowder Plot, written letters to his officers in the North, desiring them to have a care of his moneys and revenues, and to preserve these from the hands of Thomas Percy, whom he knew to have fled into those parts, "giving him thereby a note and watchword to escape."

¹ *Star Chamber Proceedings against the ninth Earl of Northumberland*, 23rd June, 1606.—*Cotton MSS.*, Vesp. E. xiv. 451.

HENRY PERCY, NINTH EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

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4. Having presumed to write such letters while under restraint without leave from his Majesty.

5. Having, he being as a Privy Counsellor sworn to preserve the King's Majesty and the State, failed to instruct his officers in the North to apprehend the said Percy, "so preferring the safety of a little money, before the taking of a capital traytor, and consequently before the safety of the King and the whole Kingdome."¹

As regards the first charge, a reference to the Earl's correspondence with James of Scotland will show how grossly his suggestion for some toleration to the Catholics was here misrepresented; and even that King must have felt a pang of shame at thus, after the lapse of five years, charging as a crime against his former friend and adherent, a proposition made entirely in his interests, which he had thankfully received, and in the justice and expediency of which he had concurred.

The failure on the part of the Earl, as Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners, to exact from his kinsman the oath which the conditions of the service and the King's special instructions² demanded, was undoubtedly a grave dereliction of duty; but there is not the slightest ground for ascribing the omission, if it were wilful, which is open to doubt,³ to any motive more serious than an ill-judged

¹ See Appendix XIII.

² In a private letter written by the King very shortly after his accession, relating to the discipline of the Gentlemen Pensioners, he states: "First, and especially, I hold it fit to have the oath of supremacy taken by every one of them."—King James to Earl of Northumberland, May, 1603. *State Papers*.

³ The Earl's explanation was to the effect that his Lieutenant (his brother Alan) was the person immediately charged with the duty of administering the oath, and that he was under the impression that Thomas Percy had duly complied with this formality (see answer to interrogatories, Appendix XIV.). It proved, however, that he had not been sworn. The Attorney-General now attempted to establish that the omission had been a wilful one on the part of the Earl, in order

regard for Thomas Percy's religious scruples. It is certain that the imposition of the oath would not have had the effect of thwarting any treasonable design, had he then entertained such, on the part of Percy ; since he would, as a matter of course, have obtained dispensation or absolution for an act of perjury committed in the interests of the Catholic Church.

The remaining charges are of the most paltry character. No event could have been more grateful to the Earl than the apprehension of the fugitive conspirator ; and the argument that his warning to his agents not to allow any of his moneys to fall into Thomas Percy's hands was intended for "a watchword and intelligence for his further flight" is unworthy of the astute, if unscrupulous, lawyer.

In requiring his agents in the North to intercept any of his moneys that might be on their way to his receiver, Thomas Percy, the Earl simply took an obvious precaution for protecting his property ; and as he did not believe the conspirator to be himself in the North, it would not occur to him to order his apprehension. The fact of one of his servants having seized Thomas Percy's spare horse "for the King," proves that there was no intention of facilitating the traitor's escape.

The following letter from the Earl's Auditor is indeed a conclusive answer to the postposterous charge :—

"May it please your Lordship,

"I mett with your Lordship's Horse and Mony at Doncaster. The Chardge of bringinge it thither from Yorke, was committed to Lawson, by Mr.

that Percy might be "the more at liberty to execute any intended villainies" (*Decree in the Star Chamber*). The treasonable designs, which culminated in the Powder Plot in 1605, must, according to this theory, have been contemplated by the Earl and his kinsmen immediately after the accession of James, when Thomas Percy was first admitted into the band of Gentlemen Pensioners.

¹ *Decree in the Star Chamber.*

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Percy, who promised to meete them at Doncaster on Wednesday Night. Ther cometh up five Horse Loades of Money, the Value thereof, as wee imagine, amounteth to the Summe of 3000 and odde Hundred Pounds. The rest of the Money, Mr. Percy told Lawsonne, should be receaved at London. Mr. Wickcliffe is at his own House, unto whome Lawsonne is rode Poste with your Lordship's Letters, that he may come and take Chardge of the Money to London, accordinge as your Lordship's Pleasure is he should. Untill hee come to us to Doncaster, I will take Care of it. Mr. Percy lefte a Horse at Doncaster, at his Cominge to London, to be kept in Diet untill his cominge backe. Mr. Lepton, who rode Post before me, hath seized upon him for the Kinge. We determine to sett forwarde to London, on Saturday Morninge. Thus in Hast I humbly rest

"Your Lordship's most bownden Servant,

"THOMAS FOTHERLEY.

"Doncaster, the 8th
of November, 1605."

The result of the trial in the Star Chamber was, as usual, a foregone conclusion ; but the Attorney-General's insinuation, for it does not amount to an assertion, that the Earl had pleaded guilty, is not justified by facts.

"The said Earl being present at the bar as aforesaid, was demanded particularly what answer he could make to the said offences so informed against him ; whereupon the said Earl, labouring at the first to excuse or extenuate his said offences, with accusing the said Thomas Percy. . . . *pretending also his innocency in all proceedings as touching any offence intended to his Majestie or the Realm ; yet in the end, being made to understand by the Court that those his allegations and protestations extended rather to his further accusations than excuse, the said*

Earl, at the end, after full proof made of the several contemptes and offences aforesaid, *confessing his errors in the same*, submitted himself to the censure and judgment of this most honourable Court."

Notwithstanding the gloss thus attempted to be put upon the Earl's explanations, it is evident that he resolutely denied the guilt imputed to him, while admitting the truth of certain facts upon which the charges were made to rest. He did not deny having advised the King to make some concession to his future Catholic subjects; nor of having shown neglect in the matter of Thomas Percy's admission to the Band of Pensioners, nor of having written to his agents in the North to warn them to be careful not to allow any of his moneys to fall into the hands of Thomas Percy; but he utterly and entirely repudiated the inferences which his accusers attempted to draw from these acts.

What chance however is there for a prisoner who is told by his judges that any attempt to deny or extenuate the crimes imputed to him will only serve to increase his culpability in their eyes?

Being found guilty upon all the charges, the Court "Adjudged and ordered that the said Earl shall, for the said Offences, pay for a Fine, to the use of His Majesty, the sum of £30,000, and shall be displaced and removed from the place of a Privy Counsellor, and from being Captain of His Majesty's Pensioners, and from being Lieutenant of His Majesty's Counties, and from all and every other Office, Honour or Place, which he holdeth by His Majesty's Grace and Favour, and hereafter be disabled to take upon him, or exercise, any of the said Offices or Places, and that he shall be returned Prisoner to the said Tower of London, from whence he came, there to remain Prisoner as before, during His Majesty's Pleasure."

¹ *Decree in the Star Chamber.*

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A sentence more monstrously disproportionate to the offence imputed,¹ was never recorded even in the disgraceful rolls of "that den of arbitrary justice, the Star Chamber,"² and elastic as were the rules of procedure in that tribunal, they had been overstrained in order to procure a conviction.

Proceedings *ore tenus* were not admissible without a plea of guilty, of which there is no record in this case; or, if the accused did admit the specific charges, then the trial, "while regular in point of form, was most irregular and unjust in effect, inasmuch as the Earl would have been charged with one offence, which he had confessed, and sentenced for another, which he denied, and of which no proof was given."³

It was not until after his conviction, that Northumberland, for the first time, appealed for justice directly to the King:

"Most gracious Sovereigne,—

Maye it please Vour Ma^{tie} to cast your Eies uppon theis few Lynes of your most humble Subject and Seruant.

¹ "Every one must agree that the fine imposed upon this nobleman was preposterous. Were we even to admit that suspicion might justify his long imprisonment, a participation in one of the most atrocious conspiracies recorded in history was, if proved, to be more severely punished; if not proved, not at all."—Hallam's *Const. History*, vol. ii. p. 47.

² "Where the Keeper, for the time being, two Bishops, two Judges, and as many wise Lords and great Officers, sate as were pleased to come; the most of whom, though unable to render a reason for their sentence, did, every Wednesday and Friday in term time, concur to tear such as refused to worship the minion, or to yield to the pretended royal prerogative . . . but the main employment of the Court was, like schoolboys, to hold up one the other while their masters whipt them. . . ." Osborne's *Traditional Memoirs*.

³ Jardine's *Gunpowder Plot*, p. 245. The illegality of the proceedings in this case is conclusively established on technical grounds in this interesting volume. For the interrogatories to which the Earl was required to answer and his replies, see Appendix XIV.

and to behold the Unfortunateness of him, that never fostered in his Bosome one disloyall or undutifull Thought; although pointed at in theis by the devilish Attemptes and ouglie Actes of a wicked Fellow. I cannot deny but how, as Matters of his Proceedings are laid open (which to me, till now, was altogether unknowne), that Your Ma^{tie} and the State had cause to be iealouse, the very Ground being this, that he took Advantage to serve his Purpose, and theirs that sett him forwards, uppon my Trust committed to him to make knowne my dutiful Affections to Your Ma^{tie}; and as I referred somewhat to his Reportes, having no more space to write uppon, which was but to show Your Ma^{tie} who, in myne Opinion, I conjectured to be yours; who I might be iealouse of, and sutch by-Trifles; he made use of that Trust, to deliver for others, that they secretly employed him in without my Knowledge.

I thought I had chosen an honest Instrument and fitt because of the place he lay in, to be the Carrier of my Letters; but I finde to my Sorrowe hee had Craft and Poison laid up in his Brest against Your Ma^{tie}, and the State, and Unfaithfullnesse to me. And it is most true he ever seemed to me to bee so much affected with Dutie to Your Ma^{tie}, as I protest I loved him the better for it, and trusted him the more. But I finde hee hath both abused Your Ma^{tie} and me. Your Ma^{tie}, in using my Name to you in Things he had no Commission for; me, in using my Name amongst those of his Faction, where not soe much as anie one Man was ever knowne to me, or negociated withal by anie Man living, from me. . . .

"Therefore I, most humblie from the Bottom of my Soule, desire Your Ma^{tie}, that in this case of my Loyaltie towards you, you will be pleased to free me in your Thoughts and to judge of it as it is. That is: I protest myselfe before the living God, true, faithfull, without

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Spotte or Blemish in the least inwarde of my Harte ; and without which Enterpretacōn I desire not to live. And withal that, out of the Justice of Your Ma^{ties} Nature, you will not conceive this long Silence of myne hitherto, to proceade from anie other Reason or Humor than that the Thing I was suspected of, and chardged withal, was to have had some kinde of Notice of this horrible and inhumane Fact ; to which all this time I could plead but Innocencie, thinking that Tyme and Examinacōns was the clearest Way to cleare me from that Imputacōn and to satisfie Your Ma^{tie}.

“ For thease other Accidents which hath concurred to the aggravating of the former Iealosies, and now showed, for which I have received a Censure, I most humblie crave Your Ma^{ties} Pardon ; and give me leave to aske for Mercy from you, from whom ever Mercy hath byne seen to flowe. And I beseech Your Ma^{tie} lett not the Weaknesse of Advise, though not wholesome, nor the Neglect of some Duties or Indiscretions, and Oversights, overbalance the Attribute you have gained in being forgivefull. In thease Points I can say nothing ; but lay myselfe at Your Ma^{ties} Feet. I can thinke nothing, but attende your Pleasure ; and I can pray for nothing but that I have asked before ; not doubting but that it shall please you to look uppon me with Eies of Mercy ; and you shall raise a faithful Subject, that willinglie will be readie to Sacrifice his Life in Your Service. And soe, most humblie kissing your Hand, I must remain ever and ever

“ Your Ma^{ties} faithful Subject and Servant

“ H. NORTHUMBERLAND.”¹

¹ Northumberland to the King, 2nd July, 1606.—*Original State Papers.*

Six weeks later he writes again praying the King : “ to have your Consideracōn, and to extende your Favour in the Fine imposed uppon me by the Lords, for which all This Time Extents are gone out. It is the greatest Fine that ever was gott upon any Subject in this Realme. My Estate is not such as perhaps the World takes it for ; my Debts are greater than is beleevd, and there is a Companie of little ones to provide for, which lies uppon my Handes. I knowe Your Ma^{tie} to be soe gracious that you desire not to punish others for my Falte ; this is a Burden will light as well uppon theire Fortunes as uppon myne. Besides, I knowe it is not a little Money will doe Your Ma^{tie} Good, and it is a little that would doe us a greate déal of Harme ; and howsoever it hath pleased the Lords to censure me, I doe appeale to Your Ma^{tie}, a higher Judge, for Favour, who knowes more than them in this Case. Therefore I most humblie desire Your Ma^{tie} for Mittigacōn. What it shall please you that I shall undergoe I will, as I am able, endeavour to satissfie.”¹

And once more he reminds the King of his past services, complaining with some bitterness that he should be doomed to disgrace and captivity, “ in *his* days, under whom I have more Reason to look for Comfort, than in *hers* who was your Predecessor ; since my Harte can be a true Testimony to itselfe that I did never, in Thought or Dede, willinglie consent to anie Thing that I conceived might be prejudiciall to Your Ma^{tie}, or Yours. And as I speake truelie or falselie, soe I praye to God to deale with me in the last Days of Judgement.”²

Lord Northumberland had ever been a favourite with the kind-hearted Queen. She had from the first braved the King's displeasure by openly avowing her disbelief

¹ Northumberland to the King, 13th September, 1606.—*Original State Papers.*

² Same to same, 24th November, 1606.—*Ibid.*

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in his guilt ; and after his committal she had more than once caused him to be assured of her sympathy and good wishes, and her continued efforts on his behalf. She appears, however, to have miscalculated her influence over James, or to have failed to reckon with the powerful counter-influences arrayed against the accused. What avail were the prayers of a woman, even though supported by the pleadings of justice and humanity, in opposition to "reasons of State," as presented to the prejudiced King by designing ministers and jealous courtiers ?

It was not until after his trial that the Earl acknowledged the Queen's efforts on his behalf in the two following letters :—¹

" I humblie beseech Your Ma^{tie}, pardon my Silence hitherto that I have not acknowledged your Favours, which at my first Committment it pleased you to shew me. The Case was such then as I thought it fitt to leave that Dutie undone, and to lay it aside for a Tyme ; expecting euerie Day an ende and Clearing of that which my Soule could never accuse itselſe of in the least Degree of the World : I mean my Loyaltie and Faith to the King, Your Ma^{ties} selfe, and to Yours. As I did rather choose to make good by Tryall that which at my firsts Troubles I protested to Your Ma^{tie} you should finde, than by Glosses and Helpes to putt from me that Imputacōn which I hope Your Ma^{tie} rests verie well satisfissed in now.

" Therefore I most humblie desire Your Ma^{ties} good Oppinion and Concept, which in these Applications will be comfortable to me, and without which my Life would be extreemely grievous ; for I protest I ever honored you and Yours with a sincere, true, and faithfull Harte. Your Ma^{ties} now helping Hand give me leave to desire towards

¹ *Original State Papers.*

LETTERS TO THE QUEEN.

the Lessening of the King's Displeasure, as Occasions shall serve ; and let this Suite, I humblie beseeche Your Ma^{tie}, enter your Harte. A.D. 1606

"In this Place I can do you no Service but with my Prayers ; if a free Man (and so please the King) both Service and Life I would presente at your Feete. What I am is, Your Ma^{tie}, in all Dutie to honor you with as great Faithfullnes as ever was to Queen ; and therefore as the greatest Present as a poore Prisoner can present you withall, I lay this at Your Ma^{ties} Feet. And soe most humblie kissing your Handes, I am and ever willbe

"Your Ma^{ties} faithfull Vassall and Servant,

"H. NORTHUMBERLAND.

"Tower, 22 July, 1606."

"Most gracious Soueraigne :—I am soe much bounden to Your Ma^{tie} for your Favours, and especiallie for this last Desire you had of releasing me of any Misfortunes by the Motion you last made, as I can saie no more towards the Expressing of my inwarde Thoughts, but that I am the same to Your Ma^{tie} that ever I was, since the first Day I saw you ; that is Your Ma^{ties} faithfull Seruant, as readie to sacrifice his Life for you and Yours ; and although these are but small Ceremonies of my Dutie and humble Acceptance and acknowledging of them, as being common Trafficks from Prisoners and Men stung with Afflictions, yett are they such as wee can present Princes with no others.

"Therefore, good Madam, give me leave, I beseech you, to wish for better Occasions wherein I may make good that I have vowed to you. If Fortune denie me of such a Happinesse, then doe I presente the humble Prayers of a Prisoner (to God), that hath leisure to doe that, and means to do nothing els to demonstrate his Faith.

"Tower, XX of August, 1606."

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The relations between the Earl of Northumberland and his wife had been the reverse of happy ones; but self-willed, high-tempered, and imperious as the lady had frequently shown herself under unquestionable provocation, the misfortunes which had now overtaken her lord developed all the kindly qualities of her impulsive nature. Past neglect and injuries were forgotten, mutual recriminations were silenced, and she became, in every quarter where influence could be effectually exerted, the most untiring petitioner and advocate for the Prisoner in the Tower.

Like the Earl himself, she did not contemplate the possibility of his prolonged captivity; and even after the severe sentence had been passed they both believed that since the original charges had been reduced from "heynous treasons" to "matters of errors," that "the sweating of the Kings Displeasure,"^{*} would only be a matter of time.

Encouraged by such hopes he writes to the King on 2nd March, 1607 :—

"I beseech Your Ma^{tie} pardon my now sending this Letter as my Sollicitor, humblie to praie Your Ma^{ties} Consideracion and Thought of my Libertie, since shee (to whome before I comitted that Chardge is soe heavie, as well shee cannot attende and waite Your Ma^{ties} greate Affaires in Parleme^{te},) hath withheld me, that I durst not be too importunate. Besides, I knowe Your Ma^{ties} noble and worthie Harte cannot forgett him that ever vowed his Faith and Service with that Zeale that I have done; I saie a Zeale as noe Creature, nor myne owne Conscience, can soe much as laie the least Spott of Unfaithfulnesse to my Chardge. I will therefore onlie humblie pray Your Ma^{ties} Favour, and attend with

^{*} These expressions occur in a letter from Northumberland to Lord Exeter, dated 20th July, 1606.

Patience your Pleasure ; not doubting but one day my inward Affections wilbe as playnlie sincere to Your Ma^{tie}, as my outwarde Actions hath byne well ment and honest.” A.D. 1606

And again shortly after :—

“ I knowe out of your pryncely Mynde Your Ma^{tie} cannot but some tymes thinke of me, that did ever strive to win your Favour. I was the Man that never to my Knowledge harboured a Conciete that mought give Your Ma^{tie} a just cause of Displeasure against me. I had long since devoted my Thoughts to your Service, following the Steps of my Ancestors. That Bonde, besides now the Bonde of Dutie, I owe Your Ma^{tie}, I can never shake off, nor ever will, be I fortunate in your Eies or not.”

In the following June the Queen paid Lady Northumberland a visit at Syon, bringing her assurances of her continued efforts to soften the King’s resentment, which graciousness the Earl thus acknowledges :

“ It pleaseth Your Ma^{tie} euerie Day soe to adde new Favours on our poore Familie that I must, from myselfe, and for them, presente you still with one and the same Gifte : an unprofitable Servants Devotion ; and sing still and soe often one Noate : Thankes, Thankes, Thankes, and nothing but Thankes ! Thus I desire to ende my Letter before it be almoste begonne, least I prouve tedious, being Banckrout of all other Occasions to rend open my Brest, that you may see my Harte how much it is Your Ma^{ties}.

“ I understand how evill you were waited on at Sion by your little Servants ; their Wills weare good though their Endeavours nought ; and Your Ma^{ties} Acceptance soe noble as, because I may not saie what I would, I will close up my Lipps and will my Penne to yeald noe more Inke for the Present.”

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To this period belong the following letters claiming the intercession of two powerful statesmen, but very doubtful allies :

TO THE EARL OF NORTHAMPTON.*

“ My Lord,

“ Your noble and free Dealing with me ; your kind Demonstracōs to my Wife ; your well Wishes to my House ; your tender Care of Nobillitie that I have knowne of Old, and consequentlie of their Posteritie which I knowe in your Harte you wishe should not receave Blowes hereafter for anie present Turne, and your Travell at this Tyme to redresse that dangerous Abuse creeping on in our State, I mean the Corruptions of our Navie, hath made me forbear to trouble you otherwise than with ordinarie Salutacōs, ordinarie Remembrancies, with ordinarie Entreats, to assist and remouve from me the Title and Name of Prisoner. For that I have soe long understood my Lord of Northampton to have knowne my Affections, and those of my House, to the King to have bine so stiffe, cannot choose but have a Feelinge for the State I live in ; for I am sure to your Lordship it can doe noe good to have me kept from Wife, from Children that now requires a watchful Eie of Parents, from House, from Gardens, from pettie Pleasures ; or to hasten on Invalidities which I cannot complayne of euerie Tyme as I feele them happen or encrease. Neither can my Imprisonment give the State anie Satisfaction for Dangers where there are none ; for it cannot chuse but understand that there is noe Earle.

* Lord Henry Howard, who figured so prominently in the secret negotiations with King James before the death of Queen Elizabeth, had been created Earl of Northampton within little more than a year after James's accession to the English throne. The unsuspecting Northumberland, trusting in his professions, continued to consider him a friend and well-wisher.

of what Qualitie soever, that is able to move the least Thing in it, as now the Foundations stande. Neither do I conceive anie Reason the King should show this heavie Hande uppon him that never offended him in Worde or Deade, but ever one of the forwardest in his Service, longe, longe before this Tyme. And shall a Suspicion continew such an Example, as will make others that doe follow (for want of Courage or Wills) to remove those Conceits out of his Minde, to bear the Burden of this Presedent (precedent), if it should fall into the Handes of one that weare sharplier disposed than the King, our Maister, is?

"My Lord, you have noe Sonnes but Posterities; you have seene manie Yeares, and so manie fewer have you to compt. The young ones that belong to us are manie, and are like to take manie Daies after us; therfore you, that are noblie born and ancient, remember that Presedents are apt to be produced to satisfie Mens Malices that are rising. Presedents in our State are of greater Force than in others, and the longer they are continewed the stronger they are. If your Lordship were but Noble of a Day, I would not speak in this Fashion, but flie to put you in mind of your Lordship's last Letter, in which you give me this Comforte: that when some Things weare settled, and some Tyme past, you would be readie to move His Ma^{tie} to slacke the Raynes; in which you shall doe yourself Honor, not displease the World, neither receive Shame, and make me, as I am,

"Your Lordships true Friend and Cousin to
dispose of,

"N.D."

"19 June, 1607."

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TO THE EARL OF SALISBURY.

“ My Lord,—

“ The End of this Letter is but to entreat you to be a Meanes for my Libertie. I will not use the Tyes of Friendship for Arguments, neither will I goe about to line you with pecuniarie Offers ; for I knowe your minde and Disposition too well in these Cases ; and to produce the Reasons of Use you might make of me, were idle, because my Fortunes are at soe low an Ebb, as they are likely never to be of Worth to anie Boddie. The Perswasions that I minde to flie unto are thease : that it is honorable to helpe Men that are in Affliction ; not that you should aide me as I am, Northumberland, a private Man that is laid aside ; but that you should aide Northumberland as he is one of the Company of your Ranke, for in these cases Presedents, be they good or lie they heavie, are of great Consequent to those must follow us. Therefore your Lordship should doe a meritorious Act to Posteritie that shall succede, in helping me ; and noble Deedes are worthie in themselves which Way soever they looke, whether to Friends, Men indifferent, or to Enemies. Good my Lord, laie your Hand uppon your Brest, and doe as you would be donne unto. If you would desire no Helpe if you weare in my Case, then give me none ; if you would, then put your helping Hand to give me some, and let not the Wills of others draw you aside for doinge Goodnesse. I will saie no more, for I have said enough to you that are wise, and so with my Well-Wishes I rest

“ Your Lordships, to doe you Service,

“ NORTHD.”

“ This 27 July, 1607.”

In a letter to Lord Northampton in the following year, A.D. 1607
the prisoner reminds the royal favorite that,

"The Black Oxe hath trode uppon your Foote heretofore, as well as it doth now uppon myne, and therefore you knowe the Nature of Afflictions. I knowe you are honorable, and the Overthrowe of noble Houses were ever Greefes to you by what Occasions soever they happened, whether out of Worthinesse, Negligences, Indiscretions, Wastfulness, or what way els soever. Thirddie, wee have matched oft, and our Alliances are reverted now of late, soe as those of yours and those of myne hereafter, must be exceeding nigh in Blood. Besides, lett me come nearer: your Lordship knowes how my Affections have byne towards the King, our Master, this manie Yeeres; and for that Pointe I dare appeale to you above anie Man, for noe Man hath knowne it so long. And to add to all this, I may challenge somewhat out of long Familiaritie from you, in case that concerns not my Disloyaltie to the King, to remember the Love hath byne, and to forgett little Breaches if there have byne anie, and to assist my Wife, a Sutor (who is now coming towards the King), with your Helpes; not pressing you to anie Thing that shalbe dishonest or unfitt for one of your Place to saie. If I should write Volumes I could saie no more than this."

To the King he writes at the same time praying for the restoration of his favour as "the dearest Thing to me in this World. In Your Maiestie's Hands onlie restes my Happinesse or Misfortune; and when your Ma^{tie} shall in your Wisdome thinke that I have suffered enough, then I humblie crave from you Comiseration; and in the meantyme pardon if I be too hastie, for in me it is Dutie, and in Your Ma^{tie} Mercie, if you shorten the Tyme of my Sorrows." . . .

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But time went by and the King remained obdurate. It is not to be believed that those upon whose intercession the prisoner mainly relied—such as Salisbury and Northampton, made any serious exertion on his behalf. Indeed it is to be feared that their course was in the contrary direction of neutralising the efforts of more sincere friends; for James, with all his prejudice and selfwilledness, was ever amenable to the influence of those about him, and his ministers and favorites could not have failed, had they made the attempt, to soften his resentment, or even to convince him of his injustice.

“Let the offender prove,” his Majesty had said to his most importunate petitioner, “that Thomas Percy had given him no warning of the intended crime,” and he would consider what he could do; upon which the Earl remarks:—

“At my last solliciting your Majesty by my Wife to thinke of my Libertie, it pleased you to saie that you would take your owne Tyme. I have not byne importunate since, because I conceived it disliked you; though it be a matter almost the dearest Thing Man enjoys. Your Majestie hath byne a King manie Yeares, and can judge of Offences. I will not therefore dispute of myne, but must still be an Intercessor for myselfe to Your Majestie for your Favour; and I beseech you let the former Desire of my House and selfe to doe you Service, move you somewhat, since I doubt not but that I shall see the Day that you will esteeme me to have byne as honest and faithful a Servant as ever you had in England. It pleased Your Majestie amongst other Speeches uppon her (the Countess), urging of my Innocence, to wish I could prove that Percie gave me no Notice (the verie mayne Pointe of my Troubles); *but Your Majestie, that is soe greate a Scholler, and soe*

*judicious, cannot but know how impossible it is to prove a Negative."*¹ A.D. 1608

Neither evasions nor rebuffs discouraged Lady Northumberland, however, whose zeal on behalf of her lord remained unabated, and sometimes outstripped discretion; for she had urged her suit to Salisbury with such feminine pertinacity and reproachful insistence, that the wary statesman felt obliged to deny himself to her,² and to explain his reasons for so doing to the Earl:—

"When I sent unto you, by Sir William Wade, a Relation of my Lady's sore dealing with me, in myne own Perticular, I intreated him to lay this first Foundation: that I made no Complainte, nor could say anything but that which must increase your Lordship's Affection towards her whom, in all my Observations, time hath discovered to be a louing, carful, and a worthy Wife to your Lordship. My End was onely to infuse into your Lordship some little part of that which I found convenient you should know; seeing the strange Course that was taken with me. . . . But truely, my Lord, I see that there remayns yet some Dreggs of the Discourses which Sir Walter Rawlegh and others have dispersed of me, *that the way to make me break my Pace is not always good Usadge, but sometyme to be spoken to in a high Style, which Aspersion (seeming to savour of servilitie)* I was desirous that your Lordship should know, when my Lady should give you any account of her Talent, that though I forbare to returne any one harshe Word to the contumelious Language she used in chardging a man of my Place to be one of those that used to devise Causes and Cullurs and Trickes to procure

¹ Northumberland to the King, 7th January, 1608.—*Original State Papers.*

² "The Countess pleads so hard with Salisbury that he wont see her again."—Sir Allan Percy to Dudley Carleton, 15th September, 1606. *State Papers.*

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Favour and the contrary, whenever I listed; yet I had shown no such Stupiditie as not to declare unto her Ladyship that I heild myselfe no way tyed to medle with your Lordship or her Perticular beyond the Incidents of my Place, further than I might list, or could, or should, be deserved by good Usadge; a matter which I know your Lordship can well conceave, who knows best the true Wisdome of Friendshippes, and uppon what grounds one man is to expect from another the effects of private Affection. . . . Although my Ladye's Words hath done Harm to your Cause, yet they should be of no Consequence to move me to doe, or not to doe, anything therein, further than I should see just cause at any Tyme. I have ever honoured her Vertue, and will doe so still (though I am not suche a Stock not to see her Passion), how much soever it may please her to injury me . . . and believe me, that His Majestie's Favour shall never make me forgett myself with Pride toward any, though it hath wrought sufficient Confidence in my Resolution to doe him Service, whensoever His Majesty shall command me, whose Directions must ever be just, seeing his Mynd is onely compounded of Honour and Justice."¹

Although the writer subscribes himself "Your Lordship's loving Frend to Command" the tone of the letter shows how little disposed he was to exert his influence, and it was doubtless the display of this indifference and coldness that caused the outbreak of temper attributed to the lady.

The disgrace of Northumberland had in the first instance extended more or less to all his relations and dependents. His two brothers, Allan and Jocelyn, had been committed to the Tower, and though, after some

¹ There is no date attached to this letter, which must have been written in September, 1606.

weeks' detention, liberated in the absence of all evidence to implicate them, they had been deprived of the offices they held under the Crown. Dudley Carleton, the Earl's Secretary, had been kept a close prisoner for several months, during which time he was subjected to repeated and searching examinations. When finally acquitted and set free, he found himself excluded from all prospect of that public employment the most certain road to which was, in those times, service in the household of a great noble. He accordingly prayed his patron to make him one of his "country farmers" since "the gates of the Court are now closed to all connected with your Lordship," to which the Earl replied in quaint terms, and with much generous feeling :—

"Carleton, As desperatiō hath made yow a Monke, soe hath Necessite made me a Prisoner patient ; and so, by Consequent, hath giuen a Crosse Byte to many that had any Dependancy or Hopes vppon me. If it had proceded out of myne owen Fault, I shoold haue bene sorry for my selfe ; but since it is not, I can beare it as a Misfortun of the World whiche we are all subiect to. That Grieffe that stickes by me is for other Mens sakes, that hath deserued as littell Euyll as I haue donne. The Strengthe of myne owen Mynde none knowes soe well as my selfe ; and it is very stronge against all but that whiche others suffer for me. If I had bene maculated with dishonest or false Thoughts to the King, or my Cuntry, none could haue spyed it sooner then yowr selfe ; and soe enoughe for that Matter. But, thoughte yow had runne into a Course of traouelling abroad better to enable your selfe,¹ yett can I not but thinke of you as one had Dependency of me ; and althoughe yow knewe (what) my Mynde was euer, and soe gaue I yow Freedom to doe the best good yow

¹ Carleton appears about this time to have sought employment in the Low Countries.

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coulde for yowr selfe, to whiche I euer promised my helping Hand; soe now, since yow haue suffered with me, I can but adde to that Charite rather then to substracte from it; for I must nedes see that the Court Gates are shutt vpon yow for my sake, and Trauell abroad is barred yow out of the same consequent. Theas Disputes with my selfe makes me enter into the Examinatōn of yowr selfe and me relatiuely; of my selfe and my Estate; of yow and the Means I may employ yow in. Hopes I haue none left for being any Medler in Matters of State, soe long as I liue; and euery Day soe long as I doe liue, I shall be lesse fitt by Reason of my Imperfection of Hearing, and olde Age, whiche will comme vpon me daly, desiring rest out of his owen Nature. Yowr Endeours hathe bend them selves most that Way, and I holde it Pitty that thos Parts should be lost in yow. I wold thos that might make Use of yow knew yow but as well as I doe. Well, to conclude, I am of the same Mynde I was euer of: I leaue yow to yowr owen Lyberty, and yowr beste Means to doe yowr selfe Good, to whiche I will put my helping Hand by all Means I can. If it shall pleas the King to giue me Lyberty to Lyue at myne owen House, comme, and yow shall be welcom if yow be not otherwyse prouided. Besides, in the meane Tyme, thoughe my Means are littell to doe good for any, yett as a Badge that yow are one of myne, somewhat yerely shall be allowed yow, with out any tying yow from any other Course. Out of myne owen Businesses yow know how I can, or what is left for me to employ any Man; for yow to becomme now a Cloune,¹ nether is proper for thos Endeours yow haue begunne with, nether is my Estate sutche as I know well how to place yow to yowr Contentement. This whiche I will adde is noe more but to helpe

¹ With reference to Carleton's intention to turn farmer.

yow from sinking for the Present, with out any Barre of farther retching out my helping Hand to yow hereafter, if Fortun make me myne owen Man againe. Soe I rest this 20 August.

A.D.
1606-1608
—

“NORTHUMBERLAND.”¹

Sir Allan Percy, who had been bred a courtier, writes to Carleton in the humorous strain which he appears to have habitually affected :—

“I am sorry that you are so near to be Jack out of Office, yet you need not despair of making a fortune without either digging or begging ; for here there hath beene a sore Battle fought last Wensday, when were overthrown many of the Commanders ; and I doubt not but by the helpe of some of my Friends, which my attendance at Court hath purchased me, to procure you one, though it be but to attende the King’s Dogges ;² which you must rather obtain by Favor than by Merit, your Experience hath bine so small in such waightie Affaires. Thinke uppon this if the rest faile, for the Dogges run very fleet, and lykelie the sooner to come to Promotion.”³

Although Jocelyn and Allan Percy were known to have displayed strong Catholic sympathies, and had been with some difficulty dissuaded by their elder brother from accepting service under the Spanish Crown in the Low Countries,⁴ the influence exerted by the Queen appears to have been more successful in their favour, than

¹ Earl of Northumberland to Mr. Dudley Carleton, 20th August, 1606.—*Original State Papers*.

² Evidently in allusion to James’s favourites.

³ Sir Allan Percy to Dudley Carleton, August, 1606.—*State Papers*.

⁴ In a letter dated 20th November, 1606, the Earl had informed Lord Salisbury that his brother had expressed a wish to sell his annuity and to seek his fortunes under the Archduke, to which proposal he had declined to assent, “for I have already suffered enough for other men’s Faults.”—*Original State Papers*.

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on behalf of the unfortunate Head of the House, who thus returns his thanks for services rendered to his brothers :—

"I beseech Your Ma^{tie} to accept from your poore Servante an humble Thankes, the greatest Service a man tied by the Heeles can doe yow. Yett since from my Power there can be no more expected I do laie them at your Feete with the greatest Devotion I can. First, Your Majesty's honorable speeches of my brother Allan hath drawne on some Favours from My Lo. of Salisbury towards him ; then againe concerning myself the Care it pleaseth you to take of me as to let me fall at any tyme into your Memorie, which, I understand by my Wyfe, and is a greater Joy and Comforte than I will labour to expresse. But for both theis Favours I can, nor will, saie anie more but that Your Majestie hath done like a worthy Queene, and I will endeavour to serve yow and yours, like an honest and grateful Servaunte. To honour yow, to praie for yow, and to wishe faythfullie to Your Ma^{tie}, is all is lefte me ; those little Sacrifices he dedicates to yow that humblie kisses Your Majesties Handes."¹

The Earl's dismissal from his offices under the Crown had not only considerably reduced his income, but had involved the loss of all patronage ; such of his kinsmen and dependents as acted under him in public employments being likewise deprived of their posts and thrown upon his private resources for their maintenance.² His early debts had by this time assumed formidable dimensions ; he

¹ Northumberland to the Queen, June, 1607. From a draught letter in the Earl's handwriting.

² Among many other similar records we find this grant by the Earl cited. 4th December, 1606. "Sir George Whitehead an annuity of £20 in consideration that he had been dispossessed of his post of Lieutenant of Tynemouth Castle, the keeping of which it has pleased the King to take away from the said Earl."

was under heavy liabilities for improvements undertaken at Syon ; and numerous creditors, who had been patient in the days of his prosperity, were now clamorous in urging their demands. He had hitherto believed that the fine imposed upon him would in due time be remitted, or, in accordance with established practice, so far reduced in amount and made payable by instalments extending over a lengthened period, as to be brought within the possibility of his means ;¹ but he now began to apprehend that it would be exacted to the uttermost farthing, and that his liberation would not be as much as considered until the claim should have been satisfied. He accordingly cast about for the means of meeting the extortionate demand. His attempts to raise funds were, however, impeded by certain financial negotiations set on foot at this time by Lord Knollys,² his wife's uncle, to whom he now writes :—

“ MY LORD,

“ I am sorry that your Lo : and I should meete in a Bargaine to marre one anothers Marckett to make it for Strangers. I will not beleeeve but that their lieth under this Proceeding some unnaturall Secrett, which yett appeares not, either to your Lo : or to myself ; considering that the Thing must be much better to me, than it can be to you, and so by consequent, I may better give more for it than you can. The Difference in the Purchase to you and myself are theis : you are farre from it, I have

¹ Under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth the fines imposed by the Star Chamber, were not unfrequently altogether remitted, and even the cupidity of Henry VII. was as a rule satisfied by a reasonable composition.

² The eldest surviving son of the gallant Sir Francis Knollys, K.G. (at one time the Custodian of Queen Mary of Scotland), whose daughter, Lettice, had married Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex. William Knollys was raised to the peerage as a Baron on the occasion of James's coronation ; was made Viscount Wallingford in 1616, and advanced to the Earldom of Banbury in 1626. He died in 1632.

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—

it in Possession and a longe Terme in it ; you shall defeate your Nephewe of it, I seeke to establishe him in it ; you are a Counsellor and at Liberty, I have beene one, and nowe under Restraint, uppon whome to adde Crosses wilbe no Honor. Their is others of my noble Friendes, to whome this hath beene offered, and for whome it doth lie much more convenientlie then it doth for you, who out of Honor would not deale in it. What the opinion of the world wilbe in this case, your Lo : I knowe out of Judgment can see, and that you will, from being reputed my mildest Censurer, be conceaved the heaviest Actor. But, as I said before, so I say still, I will not beleeeve but that their are some unseemely Affections sterringe, that yett your Lo : discovers not, which when you doe, I knowe you will not be Pertaker of, and so with my best Wishes I rest

“ You Lo : Nephewe to dispose of,

“ NORTHUMBERLAND.”¹

“ This 3 : February, 1608.”

At the end of two years the prisoner in the Tower was still unable to raise the sum, the payment of which into the royal coffers would alone justify his hopes of release, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was now required to apply the screw. He accordingly addressed a peremptory demand to the Earl, for the immediate payment of a portion of the fine and security for the balance, to which he replies :—

“ My Servant told me when he came from you that you tooke it unkindly, and that I had not delt well with you ; in not paying in that Money according to Promise ; but when you shall understande the Reasons I know you will be altered in your Opinion. Thus much out of Charite I may expect from a Chrystian : that it is

¹ *Alnwick MSS.*, vol. ix. For the Earl's second and very characteristic letter to Lord Knollys see Appendix XV.

very reasonable if the King's Maj^y. will needes have this greate Somme, yett that I may pay it soe as may be best for the Ease of me and a poor Company of Creatures whose Fortunes depend upon it, the King being satisfied. . . . Besides, you would have me to put in Suretyes, which I have been labouring for, yet cannot procure them. Those Things, and some other urgent Occasions, for the present forced me to seeme to breake with you, which in this Construction cannot be so taken in deede. And verlie, Mr. Chauncellor, Money is not soe easilie got by me at all Tymes, as perhaps you conceave ; for the State wherein I live maketh Men jealous to trust me ; and I find others as nice to ingage themselves, how neer soever they be to me, or how much Dutie soever they professe, when it cometh to take up Money upon Credit. Therefore, I doubt not but you in your judgment will excuse me, and take Things as they are trulie."¹

Although his letters are now couched in more formal terms, the Earl continued to make Salisbury the channel of his appeals to the King :—

"Your entertaining Busines theis Daies paste hath been so many that I wold not troble you ; nowe they are ended, I will thanke you for the Favour you did me in delivering my Letter, being so farre from suspecting that you would not doe it sincerely, as I protest I believe you would doo me any good Work in your Power. If I be deceived the Faulte is not mine ; for there be many Reasons to perswade me to it ; as well Reasons to thrust me from it, whether I shall trouble your Lo. with this againe or no. I knowe not your Will, neither would I desier anything from yow in this Case against your Minde, but I must write often and use my best Endeavours for His Ma^{ties} Favour. If they shall not be dis-

¹ Earl of Northumberland to Sir Julius Cæsar, July, 1611.—*Alnwick MSS.*, vol. viii.

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pleasing to you to passe by your Handes I shall acknowledge the Favour very well; understanding that all remaines in His Maties Will, which will, I pray your Lo., by your good Offices and Care, seeke to drawe on, and I will thanke you in my Harte even when I can doe you no other Service. At this Tyme I will sai no more butt, looke upon my State; It will move yow, knowing that yow doe! and so I rest your Lo. unfortunate Friend to doo you Service.

"ND."

"From the Tower, this 30th July."

"Knowing what you do!" knowing as none except the King himself knew better than Lord Salisbury, that the Earl's loyalty was as true as his own. James, indeed, appears from time to time to have had some compunctions, for both the Queen and Lady Northumberland now spoke hopefully of the Earl's approaching liberation; but each symptom of relenting on the part of the King was met by the renewed machinations of enemies to foment resentment against the prisoner.

To revive the old suspicions a pamphlet was now circulated, in which the original evidence of complicity in the Gunpowder Plot was reproduced with damaging comments, and dark hints of certain revelations which an important witness was prepared to make.

On learning that the attention of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had always shewn himself friendly to him, had been called to this production, the Earl writes:—

"I understand by Mr. Lieutenant, that Your Grace hath taken notice of a Pamphlet wherein the autor hath remembered me with a little Splene, and though he hath said something like that that Mr. Attorney did speake, (and Your Grace knoweth the Licence of Attornies in

cases of Accusations in Courts) ; yett the Party might have had soe much Charitie as to have knowne that Attornies useth for Form's sake to agrivate, and that all is not Gospell that is spoken in those Kindes and at such Tymes. Hee wrongeth me further in very dishonorable Terms and false Coniectures ; God forgive him, I doe. Neither will I dispute the Matter with him, but leave it to Your Grace's Wisdome how farre to correct, how farre to use Connivancie in a case of this Nature, hee being soe poore a Createur as a Book-Binder in Paul's Church Yarde, cauled Francis Barton, one who hath byne alreadie under your Lords^{ps} Fingers for writing, as I understande. I will, therefore, without further Trouble of Spiritt—(for use hath made me strong against euill Myndes) with my best Wishes rest Your Grace's to be commanded."¹

A discharged confidential servant, now appears upon the scene, prepared to reveal a secret of so grave a nature that its possession, as he alleged, made him go in fear of his life at the hands of his late master, the Earl of Northumberland.

The indictment was a formidable one, comprising several charges of direct complicity in the Gunpowder Plot ; but after an exhaustive inquiry, by judges the reverse of partial to the accused, not one of them could be established, and the Attorney-General informs Lord Salisbury that "the least men acquit Northumberland of all blame."²

¹ Earl of Northumberland to Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, 19th February, 1611.

² Sir Thomas Coke to the Lord Treasurer, 12th May, 1611. *State Papers*. Even Lord Northampton, writes to the same effect. He had acted as one of the Judges, and describes the prisoner as "much changed, reserved, cautious and timid in his answers ;" says that he called Elkes "a discontented rogue," and that he denied all the accusations except having written to his brother after his committal to the Tower to ask him to assume the responsibility for the oath not having been administered to Thomas Percy. This admission was, as will be seen, a qualified

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As the effect of this investigation had been to remove instead of to strengthen the original suspicions, the Lord Treasurer once more thought it necessary to justify the Earl's prolonged imprisonment, and accordingly writes to the English Ambassador at Madrid :

“Because you may have heard some Bruite touching the Earl of Northumberland's late Examination ; and knowing how various a Discourse a Subject of this Nature doth begett, I have thought good (though there be no other matter for the present to make this the occasion of a Dispatch) as well to acquaint you with our Home Occurrences in the exchange of yours from abroad, as to prevent any erroneous Impression, by this breife narrative of the true Motive and Progress of this Busyness. There is one Elkes, a Servant to the Earle, and one who it seems was no Stranger to his Secrets, who hath of late complained to a private Friend, (that yet hath kept the same with no great Privacy), that he stood in some Danger of his Life, seeing that he observed his Lord's Affection to be grown cold towards him ; which he conceived could proceed from no other Cause but Jealousy, least he should reveal some Secrets which he had revealed unto him concerning the Powder Treason. Thus much being discovered, it could not be avoided to draw the same into some further Question ; yet with such Caution as was requisite when the Accusation is but single, and the Accuser Servant to the Person accused. The Issue hath been that the Earl hath confessed two things in Substance : one, that after he was committed to the Tower, and before he came to the Star Chamber, he writt to his Brother, Sir Allan Percie, to take it upon him, that by his Means, Percie was admitted a Pensioner and suffered to escape the Oath. The other, that he was acquainted

one, and proved to have been made under a misapprehension of the facts.

with the Hireing of that House from whence the Mine was made. Both these, you may remember, were by him very stiffly denied heretofore ; and *though they be not of such nature, in regard they do not necessarilie inforce the Knowledge of the Fact*, as to call him to a further Tryall for Life or Landes, *yet they serve to justify the former Proceedings, those Points being now cleared, which at that Time were but presumed.*"¹

A more disingenuous or misleading statement was never put forward even by Salisbury, who quotes Northumberland's admission that he knew of Percy having hired the building adjoining the Houses of Parliament, in order to convey the entirely false impression that he was aware of the object for which the conspirator had secured those premises. The alleged correspondence with Sir Allan Percy has no bearing whatever upon the Earl's supposed complicity in the Plot ; but even in the guarded admission that he might have authorised his secretary to ask his brother to assume the blame for the omission to administer the oath, although he had no recollection of having done so, he inadvertently wronged himself, as John Chamberlain informs Carleton :

"Three or four days since, finding Mr. Harriot at great leisure in Paul's,² I accosted him, to see what I could learn of his great Lord. He told me that he had some enlargement, and that any of his servants or

¹ Earl of Salisbury to Sir R. Winwood, 25th July, 1611.—Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 287. It will be noticed that the writer here admits that the offences for which Northumberland had already suffered six years of imprisonment, had only been "presumed."

² The aisle of St. Paul's Cathedral was at that time a popular lounge and meeting-place for gossips and newsmongers. Francis Osborne says : "It was the fashion for the principal gentry, lords, courtiers, and men of all professions, not merely mechanick, to meet in Paul's Church by eleven o'clock and walk in the aisle till twelve o'clock, and after dinner from three till six, during which time some discoursed of business, and others of newes."—*Traditional Memoirs of James I.*

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friends might have access to him. That this last tempest was already blowne over ; that Elkes and his accusations began to vanish, only there was some doubt that his fine of 30,000*l.* would be called upon.

"And for the matter whereon you were mentioned it fell out thus : that the Lord being urged about a letter that should be (*i.e.* was alleged to have been) written for Percy's lodging, firmly denied it ; but his man Radcliffe, debating the matter with him, wished him not to stand too stiffly upon it, because he remembered that Percy went up and down the House inquiring after you, and told him it was for such a purpose ; whereupon the Lord at his next examination (*though this point was no more in question*) of his own motion told them that he could not call to mind any such letter, but if there were, it was without any ill intent, and it was likely you had written it. This was taken hold of, and *pro concesso* ; whereas he spoke it doubtfully, and by way of caution. But Epsley utterly denied all this, and said *his Lord had forgotten and wronged himself, for there was no letter written, but himself was employed by Percy to whineard in his Lord's name by word of mouth.*"¹

The alleged "confessions" thus amounted to absolutely nothing, and Salisbury's statement that they had served to confirm the original suspicions against the accused, and to justify the treatment to which he had been subjected, is in direct contradiction to the facts as set forth in the official Reports. The hopeful and confident tone in which the Earl now addresses the King, shows that he himself believed that the inquiry had only tended to establish his innocence :

"May it please your Ma^{tie} to give me Leave, in all Humilitie to presente in these Lynes the Sorrowes of my

¹ Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 27th November, 1611.—Birch's *James the First*, vol. i. p. 149.

Minde, that that Viper, my Seruante, whose Mallice is soe apparent, hath, by his Accusations laid uppon me, perverting and falsifying what he could ; whereby he might sturr upp Your Ma^{ties} further Displeasures against me, a Thing that I was ever in Hope, with Tyme, Patience and a loyal Harte, to redeeme, and by the Helpe of Your Ma^{ties} Wisdome to shake off this Worme, without anie Harme, from my Hand. Withall in most humble Manier to crave that his Intentes may not take Hold in anie Sorte of your princelie Thoughts, to make the more iealous of my Faith, for I protest (and further than Protestacōn I dare not lengthen this Letter to Your Ma^{ties} Trouble), and that is : as I shall be saued, or as I hope to have anie Good in this, or the World to come, that I am as innocent of meaning Harme, or having knowne anie Harme meant, to Your Ma^{tie}, as anie Man living. One Thing more : I humblie beseeche Your Ma^{tie} to give me Credit in what wonderfullie greeves me, and that is, that I am not such a Traycter to God as this Wrech, by his Approbations, would make me ; which whensoever it shall please you to be better satisfied in, I doubt not but, as an unskilfull Deuine, to make an honest Accounte of my Beleeve."

Whatever the King's disposition may have been at this time (his having caused Elkes to be warned to speak no more than the truth in his accusations against his Master indicates an improved sense of justice), influences more powerful than either justice or mercy were at work against the prisoner.

The complex and antagonistic elements of which human character is composed were strongly represented in the ninth Earl of Northumberland. Time and experience had not softened the constitutional violence of his arbitrary temper ; nor on the other hand had adversity chilled the generous impulses of a naturally kindly nature. He was an affectionate father, and an indifferent

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husband ; warm and trustful in his friendships ; violent, but not implacable, in his resentments. His pride was inordinate, and his charity unbounded. To all dependent upon him, to his kinsmen and officers, his servants, tenants and vassals, he was ever a just and loving Lord ; to men of learning and science ever a gentle, munificent and appreciative patron ; to his equals—and he acknowledged but few as such below the throne—he showed himself reserved and haughty, and if thwarted, arrogant and aggressive. His aristocratic instincts prompted him to the observance of that punctilious outward respect to the King which he himself exacted from others ; but the great English Earl could never bring himself to yield that subservience, or to permit those familiarities, which James demanded from his ministers and indulged in towards his favourites. No man had done better service to the King of Scotland while his accession to the English throne was yet in doubt ; but no sooner had he been firmly seated and shown the bent of his policy than Northumberland's zeal in his service slackened, and he assumed towards those who enjoyed the royal favour, a disdainful and contemptuous attitude which could not fail to make him many enemies at Court, and to offend the jealous Sovereign.

It had been his hope, under the new dynasty, not only himself to hold a high place in the Royal Councils but to restore the great Peers of England to their ancient position as the legitimate advisers of the Sovereign ; occupying an almost impregnable position between the Throne and the people. James, however, as arbitrary as the most despotic of the Tudors, was little disposed to depart from the policy which his predecessors on the English throne had persistently and successfully pursued for the past century. Following their example, he was determined to

rule as well as to reign ; to repudiate the claim of the nobles to a share in the Government, and to employ only such instruments as he himself might create or destroy. In Cecil he found a sagacious and prudent counsellor ; a minister of wide experience in affairs of state, and a secretary of untiring application and indomitable energy. Yet in common with such mere courtiers as Somerset and Carlisle, the Lord Treasurer existed only by the favour of the King. He knew that the breath that had made, might unmake him in a moment ; and he accordingly remained through life the unflinching champion of the Royal Prerogative. Under existing conditions the pretensions of the great nobles to control the kingly power appeared to him inadmissible and dangerous ; and to weaken the influence of this privileged and ambitious order appeared the indispensable duty of a faithful and patriotic public servant.

In the sunshine of his prosperity and power the Earl of Northumberland might despise and defy the intrigues of Statesmen, and the resentment of jealous favourites ; but when the storm-clouds gathered over his House, and he found himself a Prisoner in the Tower under a foul suspicion, he paid the penalty of his arrogance. The six years which had gone by since sentence had been passed upon him in the Star Chamber, had only served to strengthen the phalanx of hostile influences which now formed a living barrier between him and the King's grace.

Here were the men who had inspired the pamphleteer and suborned the servant ; and who, now that their last design had failed of effect, represented to the King that the delay in the payment of the fine was due, not as alleged to the want of means, but to the determination of the haughty peer to defy the authority of the law, and to evade the just penalty of his offences against His Majesty.

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It was doubtless the expectation that the royal clemency would be exercised in his case, and that the fine would, in accordance with established custom, be remitted or very considerably reduced, that caused the prisoner so pertinaciously to resist the payment ; for although thirty thousand pounds in hard money was in those times an enormous sum for any subject to command, the Earl of Northumberland might have raised even this amount had he chosen to submit to a great personal sacrifice. He preferred to temporise, and to meet the demands of the Exchequer by representations of the difficulties of his position, as in these letters to the Council :

“ My verie good Lords, the Lieutenant delivered me from Your Lordships that it was His Ma^{ties} absolute Resolution that I should pay my Fine, and that my Landes having extended to 1800*l.* yearlie, and knowing Favours ordinarily be done by Juries in that Nature, would have me offer what Composicōn I would give yearlie. I must confesse the Proposition was unlooked for, soe as I hope if I answere not soe soundlie as I should, Your Lordships will pardon me and helpe it in the Interpretation. I must write to Your Lordships much in that Kinde that I once writte to the King and that was, that His Ma^{tie} had been a King for manie Yeares and had had long experience of Faultes and Offences and the Differences of them. Soe must I saie to Your Lordships : You have byne ancient and graue Counsellors ; You have had Offences of all kindes before You, You can iudge of them. In the Inwarde of my Soule (excuse me, my Lords, I pray You, if I seeme partiall in myne owne Cause) I must trulie saie my Conscience cannot make me beleeve that my Faultes are so haynous to deserve Punishment to the thirde or fourth Generation, for soe must it be if this Fyne light uppon me and myne ; for poore Babes and their Babes must answer for it. Nevertheless, to obay Your

Lordships, my Officers which are now absente, after one Week shall attende to knowe Your Lordships Pleasure; they shall lay open my Estate, how it standes euerie Way. If His Ma^{tie} then will take it I must undergoe it with all Humilitie and Dutie, although unwillinglie I must confesse. But I hope of His Ma^{tie} more gracious Favour since others have tasted of it, and I doubt not but I shall. For a little of my Money will doe His Ma^{tie} and his but little Good, and me and myne a greate deale of Harme.

“19th Augt. 1611.”

And again :

“To obay Your Lordships Comāndments I have sent my Officers to attende You. They shall deliver unto Your Lordships the true Estate of my Meanes to live uppon, or verie nigh it; a Thing I had rather should have byne concealed, because to appeare a beggar shines not like a Jewell euerie way it is turned; which mistaking, I thinke, hath byne the Cause of the Pressure of the Fyne at this Tyme. For I cannot conceive that His Ma^{tie} and Your Lordships are soe uncharitable mynded towards our Familie, but that you desire wee should have a Being in this World in some Sorte like ourselves, though a poore unfortunate Companie.

“I am glad that the Consideracōn of the Busines is left in a Sorte to Your Lordships who understande the Occatōns of a Nobleman's Expence, and not to them that make Men poore according to Reporte; and I am very confident Your Lordships will observe that deuine and morall Law, to doe as you would be done unto, which Pointe I will not staie uppon longer, but humblie entreate that You will moue His Ma^{tie} on my Behalfe. For I knowe His Ma^{tie} to be the leaste touched with the Humour of Covetousnesse of anie Prince in Christendome, and six Yeares' Imprisonement tells my weake Understanding

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that it ought to be a sufficient Expiacōn of anie Offence my Conscience can accuse me of.

“ Though my Losses have byne greate already, I should be ashamed to clamor too much in a Money Matter if I spoke in my owne Voice, (all I have, being at His Ma^{ties} Service) ; but since I cry in the Voices of Children and others, that hath and must taste of the Bitternesse of my Misfortunes, without Likelyhoode of other Helpe than from myselfe, I hope you will pardon me.

“ Not repining at anie Mans good Happe, or searching the Causes, but greaving at myne owne euill Fortunes to be soe often called uppon, and so hardly, towards the undoing of my House ; noting His Ma^{ties} gracious Favours to others, and remembring His Ma^{ties} most noble Promiss to my Wife (uppon Occasion of shee laying open the Greatness of the Fine for Faultes of that Nature) that he would never hurte her or her Children therby, maketh me rather to pleade for them with Earnestnesse.

“ 16 October, 1611.”

It was at this juncture that Lord Salisbury showed his animosity by advising the King to adopt the unprecedented course of sequestrating the Earl's estates, and appointing his own Receivers to intercept the rents.

Northumberland, in the first instance, looked upon the proposed proceeding as a mere menace intended to spur him to increased efforts for raising the necessary funds :

“ For Your Lordship pressing the Fyne soe earnestlie,” he writes to Lord Salisbury, “ and beeing so eger to sende out Processe uppon my Landes, I should wonder att it, but that I knowe Lord Treasurers loue to see the Kings Coffers full ; but this smalle Droppe of myne will scarce make a Shew of anie Flood of His Ma^{ties} Side, and discover a greate Number of bare Schoales on ours. There-

fore I pray Your Lordship, out of Your Noblnes, that you will slow this Course what You may, without Prejudice of your Dutie ; and further than that, I cannot with Reason demande, if You be comanded by higher Powers than your owne Affections ; hoping that Tyme and Reason may make some more favourable Motions in His Ma^{ties} Mynde ; since I must needes thinke (out of Elkes' owne Reportes), that a King that could aduise him, in the verie Course of Venemous Accusations, to deliver nothing uppon Suspition without greate Probabilities ; to saie nothing but that was true, and with the leaste rather than the moste, for it was not the Life's of Men that be desired, but to knowe the Truth ; I saie, my Lord, that such a iust, worthie and noble Prince, cannot affect with an earnest Desire the Ruin of our State if he weare not thruste forwards either by Covetousnesse, or Revenge, of others.

“ But if there be no Remedie, neither any Compassion to be raised or sturred upp upon noe Consideracōns, then God's Will be done. Yett, I must confesse, I cannot choose but hope for better ; the Reasons I neede not express, neither goe beyonde the Seas to fetch them. They are not farre off ; they must needes be written in your Harte, as they are written in myne ; and as they have byne written in my Papers to your Lordship verie often.”

The sequestration, however, took place ;¹ Salisbury proceeded to cancel, and grant, leases upon his own terms, and without communication with the Earl, who, no longer able to doubt the ill-will of his professed friend, now offers this dignified remonstrance :

“ MY LORD,—I understande that His Ma^{tie}, by your Lordship's Advise, (for soe the Wordes of the Lease

¹ See Appendix XVI. where the value of the Earl's lands in Northumberland is set forth in the document which appoints Ralph Ashton the King's Receiver.

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importe) hath granted Leases to the Receivers of several Counties under the Exchequer Seale, of my Landes, for the Levying of a Fyne imposed upon me. Your Lordship's Sicknesse hath byne the Cause of my forbearing to write or sende; for I holde it neither charitable nor honest, in one's owne Particular, to urge a Remorse of Consience, whereby the Spiritt of a dying Man may be troubled; ¹ but rather to forgive under Silence.

"But since now your Lordship is upon Recoverie, and that the World confidentlie affirmeth you are out of Danger, and that my Business drawes to soe nigh a Point of Execution, lett me putte you in Mynde that this Parte which you have like to have played, must come again to your acting at one Tyme or other; for your Foote must in the Ende touch the Grave, and I knowe noe Man (be he never soe free a Libertine) but loves to leave a Memorie of good Deedes, rather than of badd; if there weare nothing els to be regarded.

"The Thing itselfe that is in Hande is extraordinarie, and not to be paraleld; for first, it is the greatest Fyne that ever was imposed upon Subject. Fynes upon noe Man hath byne taken neere the Censure [[?] Sentence], but first much qualified, and then installed at easie Conditions. To be levied in this Fashion is not used, or if lett, yett ever for the Benefitt of the Owner, and not to his Ruine.

"By this Course taken I see not but Receivers may make what Accompts they list; pay the King at Leisure, yet I not quitted of Halfe that is gathered; my Landes spoyled, my Houses ruinated, my Suits-in-Law receive Prejudice, my Officers imprisoned that stande bounde for me, my Debts unsatisfied, Reliefe by borrowing taken away. My Brothers and Servants must suffer, my Wife, Children and myselfe must starve. For the Receavers

¹ Lord Salisbury had then just recovered from a dangerous illness, but had a relapse three months later, under which he succumbed.

are, by their Leases, to accompt but once in the Yeare ; for which Service of gathering they have their Rewarde, 2s. in the Pound, besides Gaine in retayninge the Money in their Handes, and Commodities in manie Wayes els.

"In all this Provision for them, I finde not a Thought of one Penny either for Wife or Child or myselfe ; soe as their wants nothing but strewing the Land with Salte to make it a Patterne of severe Punishment ; and whether these Things should pearce into the Harte of a humane Man, I leave to Your Lordship to thinke of.

"I laye not downe these Miseries that must fall out of Necessitie, as amazed or out of Passion ; for Tyme hath made me very obedient to hard Fortunes ; but to give your Lordship a Feeling of my Cause, that hath ever seemed to be a Patriot for the Libertie of our Countrie and of the Nobilitie (*wherein wee joyed to have you of our Societie*)¹ and not a Producer of new Presedents that must, first or last, fall on you or yours, or on those which you wish well unto, and generallie to all Subjects.

"This Extremetie is soe unusuall as none heares of it but wonders. For myne owne Parte, I holde this Principle almost infallible ; that when Things are acted by wise Men contrarie to all Reason, there may well be concluded some Misterie to lie hidden which appears not, or somewhat desired secretlie, that will not be asked publicklye.

"As for the Queen's Debts to be this way satisfied²

¹ The sarcasm implied in the great Earl's condescending recognition of the *novus homo* in the ranks of his order, is the only instance on record in which his long suppressed sense of injury and injustice seems to have overcome the calm and courteous tone of his habitual bearing towards his persecutors.

² "The Queen intends to beg the Earl's fine to pay her debts, and the Countess is trying to compound for his libertie ; but it is not likely to succeed."—Sir Allan Percy to Dudley Carleton. *Add. MSS.*, British Museum, vol. xxi. 67. See Northumberland's letter to the Queen, January, 1613, and the footnote appended, p. 324.

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and by these Meanes, it is not sensible to Men that either understand what the Greatness of Majesty of a Queen of England is, or what a Subject's Debt of this Nature can avayle her. What is it then you would have? What would you compass? It is not, I hope, the Ruin of my Family? or my Vexation, to give Food for Matters of Splean? Deal noblie therefore; lett me knowe what it is your Desire to effect, and I shall soon give Answere whether I can or cannot; for Your Lordship knoweth, and none but you (who was privie to all my Actions) knoweth so well, how little I have deserved this.

"Perhapps you will saie that the King commaunds this to be done. I know the King's Commaunds in theise Money Matters is ofte to give but seldome to take, and all the World knoweth the Nobleness of his Disposition if but Reason be sounded in his Eares; for the Nature of Censures in the Star Chamber are *ad terrorem, non ad ruinam*. Men are putt into the King's Hands that he may use Mercy, not Rigour, of Sentence; and this hath beyne Your Lordship's owne Conceite of that Court, as unwilling to be there farther than Dutie comaunded, where nothing was to be pronounced but Lashings and Slashings, and Finings and Imprisonings.

"I write not nowe, neither have done anything heretofore, out of Wilfullness; but meerlie out of Feare howe my Actes and Words might take Interpretacón, and whether I have had cause or noe, I leave it to the Knowledge of God, and the Consciencs of Men. Neither could anie Durance of my Carcase, or Discontentment of Mynde, have sturred me upp to deliver this but in private, had I not perceaved an eminent Approach of starving of a poor Companie of Creatures, that, for anything I knowe, never wished you Harme.

"And soe with my Well-wishing for Your Lordship's Strength, I rest Your Lordship's poorest Allie in England

for the Tyme, for I have just nothing as matters are handled." A.D. 1612

24 May.

Lord Salisbury's death, a few weeks later, appeared to the Earl's friends to remove an adverse influence, and to afford a fair opportunity for more effectual appeals to the royal clemency.

"The Countess of Northumberland had access yesterday to the King about her Lord's fine, which is now of late earnestlie urged, and direction given how and where to levy it; seeing he will take no order himself for his best advantage. She had gracious audience, and is in great hope of abating the best part of it."¹

On the strength of her favourable reception, Lady Northumberland, now addressed this petition to the King:

"Your Maties Pleasure, most Gracious Sovereigne, signified by Mr. Lieutenante on Sondaie the 7th June, that your Ma^{tie} was resolved to take into your owne Handes all my Lord's Lands and Possessions, till his Fyne of 30,000*l.* imposed uppon him weare paid, because My Lord hath not given Your Ma^{tie} Securitie for the Payment of 20,000*l.* within two Yeares, and Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer's hastie Proceedinge by graunting of Leases and sending forth Injunctions to put the Lessees in Possession, according to this Your Majestie's Pleasure, hath inforced us to be humble Suppliants to your Majestie for Grace and Mercy; who doe sensiblie and clearlie see painted before our Eies the extreame Miserie that thereby wee shall endure. For daily Experience makes manifest that honorable Birth, if it wants Means to support itselfe, is of all Conditions of Life the most unfortunate. This course, if Your Majestie should continew, taking therebie away all Meanes of our present

¹ John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, 25th March, 1612. Birch's *James the First*, vol. i. p. 165.

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Maintenance or future Preferments, will abase us in that respect beneath the Meanest.

"This Miserie, we assure ourselves, Your Majestic never meant to inflict uppon us ; and yett, if Your Matie shall either continew the Course begun, or lay soe heavy a Burthen uppon My Lord, we doe apparently see, and sensibly already begin to feele, that this Unhappiness must and will inevitably light uppon us, and therefore to us the greatest Miserie we can imagine or conceive.

"Your Maties happy and gracious Government preacheth better things unto your Subjects, and therefore we doe humblie entreate Your Matie to free us from those Torments of Mynde, and graciously be pleased to diminish the Greatness of the said Fyne. And what Your Matie shall be pleased to abate (which we hope will be a greate Parte), to receive the Remayne by such an Instalment whereby we may live, and be preserved like ourselves ever to magnifie Your Maties Grace and Mercie towards us." ¹

It was evidently only his inability to comply with the conditions imposed, that induced the Earl to make repeated supplications for more favourable terms to the obdurate monarch ; for on the subject of his imprisonment he continued to maintain a haughty silence.

His actual financial condition is exposed in the following letter :—

"MOST GRACIOUS SOVERAIGNE,

"Mr. Lieutenant of the Tower delivered me the other day Your Maties Comaundmente, to me sorrowfull ; for it carried with it an Argumente of Your Displeasure still remayninge, a Burden, (besides the losse,) too heavie for the afflicted Mynde of one who maketh it the onlie Study of his Life to remove it out of Your Maties Harte.

¹ Petition of the Countess of Northumberland and her children, 12th June, 1612. *Alnwick MSS.* vol. x.

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“ The two Points hee delivered from Your Ma^{tie} was, that You tooke it euill that I had neglected to take Order for that Sum Your Ma^{tie} had sett downe ; and therefore Your Ma^{tie} held Yourselfe at Libertie and would have the whole Fyne. The other, that I should not thinke Your Ma^{tie} soe simple, the Treasurer being dead, to whom the Care of gathering Your Ma^{ties} Debts did belonge, that I should conceave an Opinion that I should not paie it therefore.

“ First, I humblie beseech Your Ma^{tie} upon my Knees to give me Leave to utter myselfe trulie as Things are, and again delyvering it in all Humilitie with a Mynde full of Dutie, that Your Ma^{tie} out of your Grace, would pardon where my Penne shall seem to be lame, and make out my true Intente where it may comitte an Interpretacōn of Error, without which it were a fearfull Thing to putt Penne to Paper.

“ Concerning my Neglect, as Your Ma^{tie} supposes, the Stay was out of Necessitie ; for being comaunded to goe to the Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Treasurers Absence would not permitt the one, and the Chancellor’s pressing so extreamelie, forbidde me the other. For Reason told me, and Experience taught me, that in Money Matters, when Your Ma^{tie} is a Party, hee regardeth more your Profitte than our Wants. Therefore, humblie apealing to Your Ma^{tie}, let me deliver this much trulie : that if Your Ma^{tie} would scaze into Your handes all the Revenew that we, Your poor Subjects, hath in the World to support us, and that you would sell all our Goods to the verie Bedd I lie on ; to allow us nothing to give us Bread to putt into our Mouthes, neither to suffer Brothers, Kindred, Servants, to enjoy such Pensions and Annuity as they have out of my Landes ; yett that Summe of 20,000*l.* could not be raised in two Yeares. Then I beseech Your Ma^{tie}

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consider how impossible it is to me to give Satisfaction without the Ruine or great Impaire of my Estate ; and to sell Land I cannot, but must parte with that for 20,000*l.* which is worth 40,000*l.*, as all Men of any Knowledge in buyinge and selling of Land must needes understande. Besides, if it please but Your Ma^{tie} to take Notice, that 20,000*l.* in two Yeares is more than 60,000*l.*, being installed at the Rates used ; or the most that ever was taken of any Subject, either of them that have detayned -Your Ma^{ties} owne Money out of Your Coffers, or of Fynes of Men that had offended the State, either by Insurrections or open Rebellions.

“ To the other Parte of Your Ma^{ties} Commaundmente, that that putts from me the Comforte or Hope that may be receaved of Your Ma^{ties} Mercy, if an Angell of Light descended from Heaven, and should tell me soe, I must confesse I could not beleave him, until I knewe that our worthie Soveraigne, King James, had never done a good Deede, never used Commiseracōn, never shewed Mercy, but executed Extremitie and ever thirsted after his Subjects Estates.

“ Till then (not to offend Your Ma^{tie}) I say I must and will hope, even till the verie last Pennie be taken ; and then I shall still hope it would be restored againe, judginge myselfe by myne Integritie, and Your Ma^{tie} by Your Bountie.”¹

Nothing can be more unworthy than the huckstering spirit displayed by the King personally in the measures adopted for the exaction of the penalty ; nor was it until the Council had represented the difficulties they foresaw in enforcing the full demands of the Crown, that he consented to remit one-third of the fine on condition of the balance being paid by annual instalments of 3,000*l.*

¹ Northumberland to the King, 12th June, 1612.

the Earl giving guaranteed bonds for the amount, and the sequestration on the estates remaining in force until the entire claim should be satisfied.

Upon this subject Lady Northumberland once more appeals to the King in her usual outspoken tone :—

“ The Chanc^{er} of the Excheq^r. signified Your Ma^{ties} pleasure that 20,000*l*. should be paid by 3,000*l*. a Yeare ; a Somme which Your Ma^{tie} may understande cannot be had without a great Hinderance to me and my Children’s Preferments. And because my Lord, uppon Hope of Your Ma^{ties} more gracious Consideracōn herein, hath not promised Payment thereof, there are Leases made of all his Landes to Your Ma^{ties} Receavers of those Countys where those Landes lie ; who have taken Possession of them by Virtue of those Leases, and doe purpose to receive the whole Revenue to Your Ma^{ties} Use, soe as wee are putt to one of these Extreamitys : either to paie that which my Lords State cannot beare, or to runne into a greater Inconvenience, that will be noe Way proffitable to Your Ma^{tie}, and ruinous to us.

“ I humblie entreate Your Ma^{tie} to look into the Chrystall of your owne Harte, and see there, whether my Lorde hath done any Act that can meritte such an Example of Proceedings for a Fine in the Starr Chamber, that no Record, as it is conceaved, can in anie Way equall, either in Greatnesse of the Fine, Greatness of the Installment, or in this rare and unknowne Course of Execution. And, therefore, I humblie beseech Your Ma^{tie} to be graciouslie pleased to be informed of the Presedents of the same Courts (whereof some are herunto annexed),¹ how Your Ma^{ties} noble Progenitors, Kings and Queenes of this Realme, have seized, abated

¹ An Extract from Records in the Star Chamber of Fines remitted or reduced during the reign of Elizabeth was inclosed in this letter.

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and installed them. Neither can I be perswaded that Your Ma^{ties} Wants will hinder this Grace and Favour, how colorably soever pretended for this Proceeding. For though the Leavyinge of soe greate a Fine of Money, and in this Manner, is likely to proue the Undoinge of me and my Children, whom Your Ma^{tie} promised out of your Grace you would never hurt with this Fine when I was an humble Suitor to You ; yet it will be soe small a Suply to *Your Ma^{ties} pretended Wants* that it wilbe scarcelie seene, much less felte ; and *God forbidd that one or two poor Creatures should suffer, because Your Ma^{ties} Coffers are emptye.*

“Farre be it from the Thought of anie good Subject to beleave, that anie such formall Pretence will cause Your Ma^{tie} to lay so heavie ‘a Burden uppon me and myne, whose Yeares now are at hande most to require it, and who in all our Actions have approved ourselves dutifull and loyall to Your Ma^{tie}.

“Humble also entreating Your Ma^{tie} to revoke the said Leases and to make a milder Sessation ; for if Your Ma^{tie} shall persevere in this Course (which God forbidd), we are likelie to indure such Harme, as none in this Case hath ever done in this Your happy Kingdome.

“And if please Your Ma^{tie} but to remember, when I was an humble Suitor some sixe Yeares since for my Lord’s Libertie, when it had pleased Your Ma^{tie}, out of Your gracious Disposition, to free my Lord Mordant. and my Lord Stourton ; I then, laying open the Smallnesse of the Offence my Lord was censured for, *Your Ma^{tie} said it was not for those Censures that he was soe restrained, though his owne Kindred laid it uppon him ; but that Your Ma^{tie} must have a Care for the Safetic of your owne Barnes.* Which I hope Tyme hath given you Understanding how little those Feares are to be fostered

in the Harte of a King ruling over dutifull Subjects ; and not to fall, after soc long a Tyme, to soc severe a Course *for Matter of Profitt, because, as they saie, none ever had soc greate Need as Your Ma^{tie} hath.*"¹ A.D. 1613

Equally direct, and to the point, is the Earl's representation to the Queen :

"Pardon me, I beseech you in all Humblenes. If I flie for Releef to Your Ma^{tie}, I hope it will not be denied me to give what Helpe you maie. Arguments I have manie to induce me to it, some out of the stedfast Beleefe I have of the Worthines and Iustnes of your owne Minde ; others out of Experience that I have fownde howe feelinge Your Ma^{tie} hath byne of my Cause heretofore, when Matters weare not soc well known, neither we so tried, as Tyme hath made them now. . . . This Fyne of myne is followed with that Severitie in seazing of my Landes as the like hath noe Presedent in former Tymes ; neither, I hope, will the like hereafter. And, Madam, I cannot but out of common Understanding conclude that all Subjects, of what Condition soever, (unlesse it be that they must gaine by it), must needs sorrowe in their Hartes at the Course taken. How silent or in what Fashion their Lippes moue (not for my sake, —for soc were it Simplicitie and Vanitie in me to thinke, but for their own sakes and their Posterities,) I knowe they must greeve. Their Daintinesse to move His Ma^{tie} for us in a Cause that so neerlie concerns them all, cannot but begett a Thought in me that some hath a Hande in the Busines, whom they will not displease, howsoever it threaten the Ruine and Hinderance of my two poore Daughters, Your Ma^{ties} Servants, and Your unhappy God-sonne, whose Fortunes relies uppon

¹ Countess of Northumberland to the King, 30th September, 1612.—*State Papers.*

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it. Therefore I most humblie entreat Your Ma^{tie} to be an Intercessor for us, since none els will, or dare.

"Perhaps the common recieved Opinion, that to satisfie Your Ma^{ties} Creditors by Way of this Fine may be a cause to seale upp Men's Lippes. How sprung, or how begott in the World, I knowe not but of my Lord Treasurers owne Proceedings and Reports. For I assure Your Ma^{tie} that he sent me Woorde, at the verie first when the Speech of it was set afoote, that Your Ma^{tie} had begged it,¹ and afterwards, solliciting him about it, he said that hee must not, neither would, deale in it; for that hee had like to have broken his Necke in withstandinge my Lorde of Dunbarre when he was a Suitor for the same not long before; when I knowe hee putt it (perhaps to other Endes than you then discovered) upp on Your Ma^{ties} good Opinion towards me.

"For this was one of his Principles often uttered: that hee never desired more Advantage of him that hee loved not, than once make a Prince doe him a shrewd Turne; for then was he safe, for ever holding upp his Head with the least Labour in the world.

"But that it is to satisfie Your Ma^{ties} Debts with your Majesty's Will, I must confesse my Incredulitie therein; or, if I did beleewe that it weare soe, then should I aske your Ma^{tie} if a worthie and greate Queene of England could feare arresting, or the not paying of her Debts, unless by the Ransacke of her most faithful Servants? But these Thoughts being soe farre remoued from the

¹ It is not apparent what Salisbury's object was in spreading the report that the Queen had solicited the grant of Northumberland's fine as a means of satisfying her numerous creditors. There is no evidence of her having made such a claim, and the act would have been quite inconsistent with her friendship for the Earl, unless, indeed, she had applied for the grant in order to relieve him from the payment. In such a case, however, she would hardly have failed to communicate her intention to the person most nearly concerned.

Harte of Your Mat^{ties}, as it is most devoted ever to obay, I must ende as I begann, to craue Your Mat^{ties} Helpe and Succoure." ¹

To the King he writes about the same time :

" If Your Ma^{tie} shalbe but pleased to take a View of the Particulars of my Estate herunto annexed, or referre it to those Your Ma^{tie} shall please shall consider and inform You of the Truth thereof, if Your Mat^{ties} greater Occasions shall not permitt Your owne oculare Examination as what I-receave, what I pay out in Pentions, what is necessary for the present Mayntenance of myselfe, Estate and Children, and my Debts which must be satisfied.

" Your Ma^{tie} out of Your iudicious Understandinge will conceave, I shall assuredly hurte my Children in their future Preferment, for out of this little Meanes I have I must Yearlie lay by for them, or they must suffer a harder Fortune than their Birth would require, which, under Your Mat^{ties} Correction, is not intended for the Use of cessinge or levying of Fynes."

To the Council he represents that it is impossible for him to raise money upon his lands while these are under sequestration, and that, although quite ready to give his own bonds for annual payments, he cannot obtain security for them since "noe Man will willinglie be bownde for me in soe greate a Somme ; neither can I, with Reason, require Men to hazarde themselves, how inocent soever I knowe myselfe ; for it is not the Setlednes of my Mynde can confirme the Doubts and Feares of another Man's."

On his being finally informed that the King would grant him an acquittance upon the immediate payment of 14,000*l.*, he urged that such a sum in ready money "would amount to much more than 20,000*l.* to be paid in seven Yeares ; but since it is Your Lordships Pleasure to

¹ Earl of Northumberland to the Queen, January, 1613.

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barre me of the mayne Wayes to satisfie you, in which I am most capable of, I mean Securitie by myne owne Bondes and my Landes, I beseech Your Lordships moue His Ma^{tie} to take 10,000*l.* in readie Monie . . . and I will endeavour to procure it as soon as I can.”¹

The royal creditor, however, proved extortionate ; and the Earl, who had hitherto shown himself as determined to resist the payment of the fine, as the King had been to enforce it, weary perhaps of further haggling, now gave a proof of his readiness to satisfy the claim upon him, by offering to transfer to the Crown the only one of his landed possessions which it was within his power absolutely to dispose of :

“ May it please Your Ma^{tie} to give me Leave to open partly the State as it now standeth with my Children, and humblie presente you with an Offer that may helpe them, and be of more Value to Your Ma^{tie}. My Daughters are of 15 and 14 Yeares of Age ; the Tyme of their Preferrments for all theire Lives is at Hande and will not admitte long Delay. The Installmente of the Fine, as Your Ma^{tie} hath imposed it, cannot be payed in 7 Yeares, they provided for, and all the Rest, and myselfe releived as they ought and as the World will expect from me, in Dutie of a Father.

“ 15,000*l.* if it should be paid, taking Use uppon Use, not resting one Minute of an Houre idle (which cannot be done), in seaven Yeares will come but to 20,000*l.* or thereabouts ; and to be bought by anie Chapman in readie Money, 10,000*l.* would be the most that would be given. Sion,² and please Your Ma^{tie}, is the onlie Lande I can putt away, the rest being entayled. I had it before Your Ma^{ties} happy Entrie, 48 Yeares by Lease, without paying anie Rent, but such as was given backe againe

¹ Northumberland to the Council, 24th July, 1613.

² For an account of Syon House, see Appendix XVII.

in certaine other Allowances. It hath cost me since Your Ma^{tie} bestowed it uppon me, partlie uppon the Howse, partlie uppon the Gardens, almost 9000 £ . The Landes, as it is now rented and rated, is worth, to be sold, 8000 £ . within a little more or lesse. If Your Ma^{tie} had it in Your Hands it would be better than 200 £ . a Yeare more by the Coppieholders Estates, which now payeth but two Yeares old Rente Fine. Dealing with them, as you doe with all Your Coppieholders in England, is worth at the least 3,000 £ . This Howse itselfe, if it weare to be pulled downe and sold by View of Workmen, comes to 8000 and odde Pounds. If anie man, the best Husbände in Building, should raise suche another in the same Place 20,000 £ . would not doe it, soe as according to the Worth it may be reckoned at these Rates : 31,000 £ . and, as it maybe sold and pulled in Peeces, 19,000 £ . or thereabouts. Thus Your Ma^{tie} seeth the Estate of the Thinge, what it is ; howe the Care of a Father (in which arte Your Ma^{tie} is understanding and will iudge other Men by yourselfe), beholdinge the Fortunes of my Daughters, rather choosing to lay a Losse uppon myselfe and my Heire, which Tyme may recover, than uppon them which may not endure Tyme, to make upp their Advancements.

“ In humble Maner, therefore, I lay the same at Your Ma^{ties} Feet, to give Your Ma^{tie} Satisfaction. It being a Mark of Your Ma^{ties} Favour towards me in those Tymes, makes me unwilling to offer it to anie but to Yourselfe, or Yours, neither will I. . . .

“ This 14th April, 1613.”

It was possibly a feeling of shame at the thought of accepting, as an expiatory offering, that which he had conferred upon a subject in reward for important personal services, that induced the King to decline so advantageous a proposal. In the end he consented to accept an immediate payment of 11,000 £ . in satisfaction of the

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balance of the fine ; and on this sum having been received into the Exchequer, he granted to the Earl what he was pleased to call a full " Pardon and Release." ¹

While the sequestration of his estates was withdrawn he was, however, still debarred from all public offices that he had held under the Crown ; including those which he had received by inheritance from his father, and which had been made revertible to his own son.

Shortly after his conviction in the Star Chamber the Earl of Dunbar had applied to the King for the Governorship of Tynemouth, against which grant Northumberland remonstrated, on the ground that that office had " been given by the late Queen to my Father, and two of his Sonnes, for Life, in recompense for Norham, which was taken from him. It hath alsoe pleased His Ma^{tie} to give me his Graunte by Woorde, for the Reversion to my Sonne for his Life." ²

Lord Dunbar thereupon withdrew his claim ; the office was, however, subsequently conferred upon Sir William Selby, during the King's pleasure, and Northumberland now demanded its restoration, not as a favour, but as a right.

" Matters of my Fine being ended," he writes " that which I justlie desire is but that I have under the Greate Seale, as due to me as the Coate uppon my Backe, if any Pattente under the Great Seale of England be authentically

" I can saie nothing more for my Right, but that I have it under the Greate Seale, and by Patent for Life ; neither mean I to dispute the King's Prerogative, which I know Mr. Attorney will not fault in scanting. But

¹ For the text of this document, of which the title is misleading, see Appendix XVIII.

² Northumberland to Earl of Dunbar, 14th October, 1606.—*State Papers*.

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these are not the Things I meane to handle in this Letter, for I knowe Pretences may be made upon slighter Grounds than these, and to greater Matter if the State pleases. If your Lordship can doe me this Favour I shall thinke myselfe beholdinge unto you; if you cannot, I will cast it over my Shoulders with the Rest of my Misfortunes, and there lett it lie till a more favourable Tyme."¹

James, however, considered that he had exhausted the sources of his grace when he accepted, in composition for the fine, the largest sum that it was in his power to extort from an unwilling and obstinate debtor; and the Earl, debarred from all places of profit or honour, and his private resources seriously impaired by the late proceedings, disdained to make further appeals to the King's clemency. His enemies had prevailed; but they should not enjoy the triumph of bending his pride or shaking his philosophy.

* * *

The Tower of London was a place of evil associations to its new inmate.

Barely seventy years had elapsed since the Earl's grandfather was drawn from thence to ascend the scaffold at Tyburn; twenty years since, his father had died a violent and mysterious death within those grim walls; three years since, the headless body of his brother-in-law, Essex, was cast into the rude grave, which the captive had to pass in the monotony of his daily walks.

Many a familiar name carved upon the prison stones met his eye, to tell the tale of successive victims to Royal resentment; and to remind him of the fate of members of his own house who, in times past, had lingered in this abode of misery.

¹ Northumberland to the Earl of Suffolk, 19th November, 1614, and 20th February, 1615.—*State Papers*.

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Men of his passionate temperament are, as a rule, exceptionally sensitive to the pains of personal restraint; but there was a stoicism underlying the Earl's impetuous nature which enabled him to bear misfortune with admirable equanimity.

Up to the time of his trial in the Star Chamber he had, in the consciousness of his innocence, submitted uncomplainingly enough to a captivity from which he could not doubt an honourable release. Even when his sentence was pronounced, he continued to hope that the penalty would ere long be mitigated; now, however, he felt that his persecutors would resolutely stand between him and liberty, and he seems to have resigned himself to the prospect of a life-long captivity.

"It pleased your Lordships," he writes to the Council "when you were last here, amongst other Speeches, to say if I wanted anything I might complain, and let your Lordships know of it. Now, my Lords, as the Summer groweth on, I find this little Garden, that lieth all the Day upon the Sun, to be very close; these Galleries very noysome with the Savours from the Ditches, and Invalidities oftener to threaten me than they were wont.

"These lower Parts are so wet after every Shower of Rain, as there is no stirring in the Garden; neither is the Air so wholesome as the Hill. Therefore, if it please your Lordships that I may have the Benefit thereof, as other Prisoners hath had, being here in the same Nature that I am, I shall acknowledge myself much favoured."

He was hereupon removed to the Martin Tower,² on

¹ Earl of Northumberland to the Council, 9th May, 1606.—*State Papers*.

² "Martin Tower over against the Green Mount near Mr. Sherburn's House."—*List of Prison Lodgings in the Tower of London*. *Harl. MSS.*, No. 1326. The Earl also rented the Brick Tower close to the Jewel House, the official residence of the Master of the Ordnance, for the use of his son, in order to enable him personally to superintend his education.

the north-east angle of the Bastion wall, where he passed the next fifteen years of his life in the ardent pursuit of his favourite studies, and in constant intercourse with men of learning, whose companionship, with that of his beloved books, reconciled him to a fate which, to one devoid of intellectual resources, must have proved a terrible infliction.¹

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The well-filled shelves of his library at Syon House kept him supplied with the means of wide and varied reading; and scholars and critics, alchemists and astrologers, assembled in his rooms, to discuss the theory of numbers and the law of optics, sun spots and the Satellites of Jupiter; to read and criticise the "*Faerie Queene*," and Sidney's *Arcadia*; to cast horoscopes, and to burn the midnight oil in the attempt to discover the secret of the transmutation of metals, perpetual motion, and the elixir of life.²

Many a time during the still hours of night the sentinel beneath the Earl's window may have stood, startled and amazed, as strange and mysterious sounds fell upon his ear: the whirl of wheels, the monotonous click of many a pendulum, the crackling of unseen fires, and the solemn tones of incantation. The jailer indoors who should intrude upon his privacy would gaze in awe upon his prisoner, as, clothed in quaint garments and inhaling through a tube the fumes of a burning weed,³ he sat with his familiars engaged in mysterious rites amidst curiously

¹ "The Earl of Northumberland . . . cares little for restraint except for the disgrace."—Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 21st December, 1614. *State Papers*.

² Alchemy and astrology were at that time still practised, and conscientiously believed in, by men of science; though the more enlightened had already begun to denounce these pursuits as vain and illusory. Bacon, for instance, advises a friend "to abandon these fabulous and foolish traditions, and to come nearer to the experiments of sense."—*Sir Tobie Mathews's Letters*, p. 25.

³ The average payment for tobacco during the Earl's captivity was over 50*l.* a year.

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shaped instruments: retorts, alembics and crucibles; zodiacal tables suspended from the walls; celestial globes slowly revolving upon their axes; automatic figures moving by some hidden power, and a human skeleton grasping an hour-glass in its claw-like fingers. No wonder that strange rumours went abroad as to the dark practices of "the Wizard Earl and his three Magi."²

Sir Walter Raleigh had remained in the Tower after the commutation of the death-sentence passed upon him in 1603, and now, shut out from the active pursuits congenial to his restless mind, joined the Earl in his studies and experiments.³

A mass of memoranda relating to the Earl's household expenditure during the first ten years of his im-

¹ In the accounts at Syon House we find a payment "to Dr. Turner's man that brought a skeleton." This Turner was the Earl's medical attendant, and in 1607 received a fee for having provided him with "a Pomander for the Plague," a pomander being a strongly perfumed ball composed of materials for warding off infection.

² Thomas Heriot, or Hariot, Walter Warner, and Robert Hues, eminent mathematicians, whose devotion to the study of the exact sciences did not prevent them from placing faith in the occult arts of necromancy; or from employing themselves in the construction of elaborate theories based upon the wildest speculations. Nathaniel Torperley, the learned Rector of Salwarpe, Nicholas Hill, James Alleyne, and Dr. John Dee (for accounts of whom see Wood's *Athenæ*) were also constant companions of the Earl throughout his captivity.

³ "Northumberland, the Mæcenas of the age, had converted this abode of misery into a Temple of the Muses, and Raleigh was gradually inspired by the genius of the place."—Lingard's *History of England* (edition, 1849), vol. vii. p. 198. This statement is justified by the evidence of a contemporary writer, Wallis the mathematician, who says: "Their prison was an academy where their thoughts were elevated above the common cares of life; where they explored science in all its pleasing forms, penetrated her most intricate recesses, and surveyed the whole globe till Sir Walter Raleigh's noble fabric arose, his *History of the World*, probably by the encouragement and persuasion of his noble friend." Fraser Tytler tells us that the Earl "established a literary and philosophical society in his apartments, and diverted the melancholy confinement by keeping an open table for such men of learning and genius as were permitted to visit him. Splendid in his entertainments, and lavish of his immense wealth, he was ready to pay any sum for the company and conversation of men of genius."—*Life of Raleigh*, p. 329.

prisonment has been preserved,¹ and serves to throw much light upon his habits and mode of life.

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The privilege of providing the diet of prisoners formed an important feature in the Revenues of the Lieutenant of the Tower. By an annual payment of 100*l.* Northumberland, however, acquired the right of keeping his own table, which was on a very liberal scale, costing on an average over 1400*l.* a year.² His cellar was stocked with a variety of wines, including French, Rhenish and Greek vintages, and "Muscatel, Hypocras, Malmsey, Canary, and Sherrie." He had a large retinue of servants and, for the use of his family and visitors, maintained stables of horses in Drury Lane, on Tower Hill, and in the Minories.

His expenditure on his library, during the term of his captivity averaged no more than 200*l.* a year; but the purchases were of the most varied character, comprising works on Theology, Philosophy, Medicine, Politics, History, and the Art of War, in English, French, Italian, and Latin. He had in his pay a foreign and an English Reader³ and from time to time exchanged the books in use at the Tower, for others from his library at Syon.⁴

Losses or gains at cards now become comparatively rare items in his accounts; he played chess and drafts, however, and among other such recreations, we find him engaged in, what would appear to have been, a game of military

¹ *Rolls* in the Muniment Room of Syon House.

² The kind-hearted Queen, who had never ceased to interest herself in the Earl, or to intercede in his favour, occasionally sent him delicacies from the royal table; and we meet with several entries of "rewards" paid to the servant who brought him "jellies from Court."

³ To Francesco Petrozani for reading Italian to the Earl 7*l.*—Syon House *Rolls*. The English reader was the John Elkes, who, in 1611, brought charges against his master in relation to the Gunpowder Plot. See *ante*, page 303.

⁴ See Appendix XIX.

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tactics, or Kriegspiel.¹ There is also a payment for "trimming and rigging" the model of a war vessel, probably for the instruction of the future Lord Admiral of England.

Among the physical exercises of the prisoner mention is made of fencing, battledore, tennis and bowling.²

When after the payment of his fine, the Earl could still discover no disposition on the part of the King to restore him to liberty, he set to work to make his prison life as agreeable as circumstances would allow, and his expenditure in luxuries now became very much larger than during the earlier period of his captivity. In 1616 he disbursed no less than 3,368*l.* in silver plate;³ including "Chargers, Scantlings, Plates and Bowls," and in the preceding year his account for personal apparel exceeded 1,000*l.* To an inmate of the Tower the opportunities of wearing the Garter must have been few; yet we find him purchasing "a new George," in order, perhaps, not to be outdone in magnificence by the Earl of Somerset, who was at that time under sentence of death for Overbury's murder, and who was seen "*with his Garter and George about his neck, walking and talking with the Earl of Northumberland.*"⁴

	£	s.	d.
* "For an inlaid Table for the practice of the <i>art militaire</i>	4	18	0
For making a mould of Brass to cast soldiers in, and making 140 of them with wire for pikes	2	16	8
Making 300 leaden men with a box to put them in	1	7	8
The Table and points, and gilding the same	3	17	6"

² "Paid for making a Bowling Alley in Lord Cobham's garden in the Tower, 14*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*"—*Syon House Rolls*.

³ It is difficult to reconcile such expenditure with the Earl's frequent pleas of poverty, which appear indeed to have rested rather on the hope of escaping payment of the fine, or procuring it to be greatly reduced, than upon his actual circumstances.

⁴ Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 20th July, 1616. The writer expresses surprise that James's infamous favourite should have been allowed to retain the Garter: "It is much spoken of how foreign Princes of that Order (to let our own pass) can digest to be coupled in society

Rewards and donations to the prison attendants figure largely in the Earl's accounts. Every official within the walls of the Tower, from the Lieutenant and his family,¹ down to the keeper of the lions,² participated in his liberality, so that it is not surprising to learn that "warders made great moan" when they ultimately lost so profitable a prisoner.³

Adversity had not, it appears, had the effect of taming the Earl's violent temper: John Chamberlain writes to his friend Carleton, "It may be you have heard of the Earl of Northumberland swaggering not long since in the Tower, and beating Ruthven—the Earl Gowrie's brother—for crossing him in his walk."⁴

Although the noble Prisoner seems to have claimed a monopoly of this particular walk,⁵ yet Ruthven would appear to have incurred the Earl's wrath for a more serious offence than merely coming between the wind and his nobility during a morning stroll; for there was

with a man lawfully and publicly convicted of so foul a fact; or how a man civilly dead, and corrupt in Blood, and so no Gentleman, should continue a Knight of the Garter."—Birch's *James the First*, vol. i. p. 419. The King, however, chose to lay it down in this case, that Felony, unless accompanied by Treason, did not justify expulsion from the order.

¹ Among numerous other such payments we find a charge for "two pendant rubies, presented to the Lieutenant's daughter."

² "The reward by Lord Percy for seeing the lions, with Lady Penelope, and his two sisters, six shillings." As early as in the reign of the third Henry we hear of a white bear and an elephant (the first landed in England) being kept in the Tower. Lions were first imported in the sixteenth century, and the Lieutenant was allowed sixpence a day for the food of each of these. The allowance for feeding "poor prisoners" was only a penny a day.—See Bailey's *Tower of London*.

³ See page 359.

⁴ *Original State Papers*.

⁵ Fifty years later Pepys writes to Sir William Coventry: "To the Tower . . . we walked down to the Stone Walk, which is called, it seems, My Lord of *Northumberland's Walk*, being paved by some one of that title that was Prisoner there; and at the end of it there is a piece of stone upon the wall with his armes upon it, and holes to put in a peg for every turn they make upon that walk."—*Diary*, vol. ii. p. 314. The charge for materials for paving this walk appears in the Earl's accounts.

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an old standing grievance against him in consequence of Ruthven having many years before accused Lord Northumberland of being the author of some defamatory verses written against a lady, who was alleged to have rejected and resented his addresses.¹

During the twenty years that had elapsed between his accession and his committal to the Tower, the Earl had, to a great extent, succeeded in re-establishing the damaged fortunes of his house; but his long absence from his estates and the subsequent sequestration of his revenues, led to frequent losses, and had involved him in long and costly litigation. In 1609 he complains to the Judges of Assize in the North that the country people had combined to withhold his rents "by colour of tenant right,"² and four years later he retains Serjeant Hutton "by means of a yearly fee, to issue out of my manor of Spofforth, of one piece of gold;" as his standing counsel in actions relating to disputes with the tenantry.

Among other cases there had been a long pending suit between him and his kinsman, the Earl of Cumberland, to whom he now writes in these terms:—

"NOBLE LORD,

"Your owen Tyme shall satisfye me, for the Ending of that Business in Controversy between us. A few Months will brede but a smaule Alteration in a Matter that hath been so long in concluding.

"I wish it had been sooner ended for both our Sakes; but, since that Time past cannot be recalled, we must make of Necessitie a Virtue.

¹ See *Cabala*, p. 328.

² Earl of Northumberland to Sir James Altham, 14th August, 1609.—*State Papers*. In this year his accounts show payments for law costs to Mr. Cartwright, his solicitor, to the extent of 500*l*.—*Rolls* at Syon.

"For the Satisfaction that shall rise to both of us, I cannot doubt but it must needs be good when the Mediators shall be such as ourselves; boeth born with Honour and Justice in our Myndes, or else are we not worthy of the Style we are cauled by. Besides the Nearness and Friendship can but promise a noble Proceeding and an honourable and kind Ending."

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The prisoner in the Tower seems to have retained some interest in the outer world, and even in its social pursuits, for he concludes his letter—

"Your Lordship is determined not to be here till Easter Time; but I think you will be called upon sooner, if that go forward that is intended, or at least said to be intended: I mean a Parliament. This is all I can tell you for the Present, but that there is a Maske towards (in progress) for this Christenmas; and soe with my best wishes, I rest

"Your Lordship's Friend and Cousin to dispose of,

"N."

The Earl maintained a constant correspondence with his various officers; with Sir Henry Slingsby, Robert Delavall,² and John Astell, his Receivers; Henry Taylor,

¹ Earl of Northumberland to Earl of Cumberland, 13th Dec., 1614.—*Syon MSS.* "The principal subject of this letter seems to have been the long arrears of rent due from the Cliffords for the ancient rents of the Percy fee in Craven. These amounted to about 250*l.* per annum, and had been originally paid to the Crown; but Queen Mary, when she restored the titles and estates of the family to Sir Thomas Percy, grandfather of this Earl, granted these rents to him; and they were, therefore, payable from that time by the Cliffords to the Earls of Northumberland. But I find, from the Skipton Papers, that Earl George was one time twenty years in arrear, and I strongly suspect that this sum, or a great part of it, remained unpaid in 1614, and drew from the Earl this dignified though delicate expostulation."—Whitaker's *Craven*.

² Who writes from Alnwick Castle on 2nd May, 1609 giving the Earl this curious account of the ceremony of the keeping of St. George's Day at Berwick:

"The Earle of Dunbar kept St. George his feast at Barwicke; wheath he did sumōn most p^r. of all the prynsypall gent. of Northumberland,

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Clerk of the Kitchen, Edmond Powton, Steward of the Household, and John Hippesley, Gentleman of the Horse. Most of these letters refer only to details of management,¹ but their tone is characteristic :—

"It is well done of you," he writes to one of these, "to deliver to me your Opinion at large, for I expect it; although sometymes you and myself shall differ in the form of Proceeding, more especially we being so far asunder, and not able to communicate all our Reasons by Letter. Having instructed me with your Opinions, you are then to follow my Directions. If I have found Faults, Neglects, or Errors in my Instruments, it is enough that I correct them, without publishing to the World either the Punishment or the Connivance. There is nothing done without

to bear him Componie. There was w^t. him of Scotsmen 2 Earls and 6 Barrons, the rest Knights and gent. to the number of some 24, besydes English Knights, and gentlemen to the number of manye. He contynewed the feastinge of all his Componye 3 dayes. wth. great Plentye and store of good faire, observinge the Scottishish fassyon, alwayes after dynner and supper was downe, befor any men rise from the Table, w^c was wth. a Chapter of the Bybell, or some p^t. of the readinge Salmes, red by one of his Chaplens; and Immedyately after, such as lysted to Drinke, had readye sett them uppon the Table in Severall glasses, wth several wyne, w^{ch}. is Called the græse drinke. He laye in the Pallise, and did goe from thence to the Church, beinge verye neare halfe a quarter of a mylne in his Robbs. There did goe befor him, first S^r. W^m. Bowers Componie of foot, marching wth. there piks and muscuts, next to them 12 great horses foure wth. foot clothes, and the rest wth. rich Sables; then his men in Blewcots, in number 80; next to them, the maire of the towne and the Aldermen, then S^r. W^m. Bower and his Son; gent. ushers in ranke togeath^r, S^r. W^m. haveinge his ledinge stafe in his hand, and then himselfe. wth. all the noblemen and gentlemen after him."—*Alnwick MSS.*

¹ The Earl's coal mines are a subject of frequent correspondence. In March, 1607, he conditionally accepts an offer of "twenty marks a pit" for his mines in Northumberland; but twelve years later expresses regret at not having worked them himself, and authorises the sale of 400 tons of coal from Lemmington mines at 63s. 4d. the ton. He let his "fishings and fowlings" in Yorkshire for 22*l.* a year; and insists upon all the inhabitants of Alnwick using "the common bakehouse for the benefit of the farmers of the same," directing that unless they leave off baking their own bread, all the ovens newly built should be suppressed.

my Direction, or Debate, by all those whom I trust. In matters of the Rent, there has been, it is true, Neglect which has caused so many months' Delay, but the Defaulters have heard of it. . . . Go you forward in your honest Courses; there is better meant than you are aware of." ¹

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Of the Earl's generosity and kindheartedness his correspondence affords repeated proof. Among other instances may be quoted his intercession with the Judges of Assize in Sussex on behalf of a man who, under the pressure of extreme want, had been guilty of stealing a silver bowl off a table in the hall of Petworth:

"I will not meddle with the Manner of the Fact, for that will appear to you upon his Examination. Only I will heartily desire that, if he should stand with no other Crime than this, there might be a favorable Proceeding against him, to which Request of mine, legally limited, if you please to give your Help, I shall acknowledge it as a Favour." ²

Here is a businesslike letter to some of his Alnwick tenants, on the subject of the Grammar School in that town, which the Earl's ancestors had founded and endowed, but the requirements of which had outgrown its dimensions:

"I have receaved your Petition of 12 Nov^r. I am very glad to decerne your Forwardness in doeing soe good a Work as to drawe Learning into your Towne, and soe, by consequent Civilitie, my Hands shall not be tyed from giving Helpe to your Purposes, since it is so good an Ende. But, Pray God, I fynd it not with you as I found of them of Rothbury for repayingr their Church, whiche, when I had condissended to contribute largely, the Reste

¹ Earl of Northumberland to Mr. J. Astell, May, 1618.—*Alnwick MSS.*

² To Sergeant Crewe, November, 1620.—*State Papers.*

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of the Country would doe just nothing. I would hope for better Success in this, and that is the Cause why I will sette down under myne owne Hande what I will give towards this charitable Worke; that it may be a Witnesse againste yourselves if you proceed not therein. Whatsoever it be that any Man shall give towards the Buylding of the Scoule, or hathe given, I will give as much, if not more. Whosoever shall bestowe any yearly annuite for the Maintenance therof hereafter, *bona fide*, I will give twice as mutche. The Nominating of the Scoller (master) I intend to have, in which I know I shall be as careful as yourselves to choose a fitt Man. The Ground Plott of the Work intended I desier to see in a Draught, for soe shall I guess what will be your Charges in the Building therof, and Mens Helps will be drawn on thereafter. Now you know my Mynde I will reste, and wish this Matter good Proceeding. When I shall perceave the Foundation of the Worke begunne to be laid, then shall my Contributions beginne. This 30th daye of November, 1610.

"Nd." 1

His long captivity does not appear to have materially affected the Earl's health, or, if it did, he made no complaints beyond occasionally alluding to his failing eyesight. In a letter, in which he claims his ancient privilege of nominating one of the Burgesses for York, he says: "my eyes are evil, and it is painful to write with spectacles; so I must either have your letters, to let me know what you do, or yourself to inform me."² There could hardly have been a greater calamity to one of his studious habits, and his employment of

¹ From Tate's *Barony, Town, and Castle of Alnwick*, vol. ii. p. 80.

² *State Papers*. The writer prays "the continuence of your love and consent for Henry Taylor, Clerk of my Household," as his nominee for the representation of York.

"Readers" was doubtless owing to the necessity of sparing his eyesight.

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He had given much time and attention to the education of his two sons; but with his contemptuous estimate of the intellectual requirements of women, he would not have been likely to trouble himself with the mental training of his daughters, who as they grew towards womanhood, however, became to him a cause of much anxiety. His distaste for the coarse dissipation of the Court of James, aggravated by a sense of injustice, led him to desire their exclusion from the royal festivities.¹ Lady Northumberland, however, whether from policy, or a love of pleasure, was not disposed so to isolate herself, or to deprive her daughters of the social advantages of the Queen's countenance.²

"There is whispered that Count Henry of Nassau hath a month's mind for my Lord of Northumberland's daughter, which, if it should fall out, would be a great match for her."³ "Lord Burleigh woos the Earl of Northumberland's daughter which may bring about her father's release."⁴

This gossip relates to the Lady Dorothy Percy, who without her father's knowledge, but, as it seems, with her mother's connivance, was in 1616, privately married to

¹ The Earl once quoted it as a proof of his indulgent treatment of his wife that he had allowed her to take his daughter to Court lest "neglect or stubbornness" might be imputed to him. See his Letter to Lord Knollys, Appendix XV. p. 36.

² In an account of the festivities on the occasion of the Princess Elizabeth's marriage to the Count Palatine Frederick, in 1613, we read that "the Lady Northumberland was very gallant;" and an idea may be formed of the extravagance in dress, which Anne of Denmark had introduced, and which the King encouraged, from the statement that "Lady Wotton had a gown that cost 50*l.* a yard the embroidery," and that "the Lord Montague had bestowed 1,500*l.* in apparel for his two daughters."—Birch's *Court and Times of James I.*

³ Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, August, 1613.—*State Papers.*

⁴ Same to same, December, 1614.—*Ibid.* This Lord Burleigh was the eldest son of Robert Cecil, first Earl of Exeter, Salisbury's elder brother.

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Robert Sidney, Lord Lisle's eldest son, and afterwards the second Earl of Leicester. The marriage was not publicly announced until the following year, for what reason is not apparent; since the alliance was on both sides a very suitable, and proved an exceptionally happy one. The Earl's second daughter, the Lady Lucy, was a source of yet more trouble to him; for no sooner had she appeared at Court than her beauty attracted a crowd of ardent admirers, and suitors for her hand. Most conspicuous among these was the Lord Hay,¹ the least unworthy perhaps of James's favourites; and whose handsome person, fascinating manners, together with a reputation for fabulous wealth and munificence, were well calculated to dazzle a young girl on her introduction into society.

" . . . A Masque will be given at Lord Hay's, where the Countess of Bedford is to be Lady and Mistress of the Feast, as she is of the managng of his love to the

¹ James Hay, afterwards Earl of Carlisle, "though of no more noble extraction than the immediate son of a Scotch merchant, an appellation which some under a stall would scorn to patronize, who it is said bestowed more trimming in the varnish of a waistcoat than any of his masters ancestors did in clothing themselves and their families."—Osborne's *Traditional Memoirs of James the First*. He had in early life served in the Scottish Guards of the King of France; handsome, accomplished, and of fascinating manners, James showered wealth and favours upon him; made him a Privy Councillor; employed him in several important embassies; and created him successively Baron Hay, Viscount Doncaster, and Earl of Carlisle. His extravagance was boundless; and in his entertainments he appears to have been anxious to emulate the senseless and ostentatious luxury of Lucullus. Weldon states that he imported live sturgeon from the Black Sea, which were served whole at his banquets; that his suppers consisted of a rapid succession of the most costly dishes, the greater part of which passed untouched to his servants, one of whom was seen devouring a pie, composed (among other ingredients let us hope) of "ambergris, magisterial of pearl, and musk," and which cost 10*l*. Wilson relates that on his entry as Ambassador into Paris, the horse he rode had, like the mule of the Empress Poppea, silver shoes slightly tacked to his hoofs, which, as fast as they were dropped for the mob to scramble for, were replaced by others, by an officer in attendance for that special duty.—See Nichol's *Progresses of James I.*, vol. iii. p. 183.

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Earl of Northumberland's younger daughter, with whom he is far engaged in affection ; and finds such acceptance, both at her hands and her Mother's, that it is thought it will prove a match." ¹ . . .

In encouraging his suit Lady Northumberland doubtless had in view the services which such a son-in-law might render towards effecting her husband's release ; but the Earl received the announcement with scorn and indignation. He would sooner die in prison than owe his release to a Scottish adventurer at the price of his daughter's hand, and suspecting her affections to be engaged, he took his own measures to separate the lovers.

The "Masque," referred to by Chamberlain, had occupied "the workmanship and invention of thirty cooks for twelve days," at a cost exceeding 2,200*l*. . . . "but the ill luck was, that the chief and most desired guest was away ; for the young Lady Sidney, with her sister, the Lady Lucy Percy, going, some two or three days before the feast, to visit their father in the Tower, after some few caresses he dismissed his daughter Sidney to go home to her husband, and to send her sister's maids to attend her ; for that he meant not to part with her, but that she should keep him company ; adding withal that he was a Percy, and could not endure that his daughter should *dance any Scottish jigs* ; and there she remains for aught I hear." ²

. . . . "The Earl of Northumberland still keeps his daughter, Lady Lucy Percy, in the Tower, to secure her from the addresses of Lord Hay." ³ . . .

But the Lady Lucy had inherited something of her father's strength of will ; even the gates and bars of

¹ Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 22nd February, 1617.—Birch's *James the First*, vol. i. p. 459.

² Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 5th March, 1617.—*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 463.

³ Sir G. Gerard to the same, 20th March, 1617.—*State Papers*.

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the Tower were no security against her girlish love for the handsome courtier, and the gossiping letters of the time chronicle the progress of the courtship and its ultimate conclusion in marriage.

... "The Earl of Northumberland could not divert his daughter Lucy from Lord Hay, for while he had her in the Tower, giving her leave daily to visit the Countess of Somerset, thereby to have the better access himself, she encouraged the match; and therefore the matter was so plotted, that where he thought he had her safest, there he lost her; and so was fain to send her away, seeing he could prevail no more with her."¹

... "The Lord Hay will use all possible means to get the Earl of Northumberland's good will with his daughter, and to have the 20,000*l.* he promised her if she would be ruled by him; but he may cast his cap at that, seeing the Earl so incensed, not only against her, but against his fair lady of Somerset, for procuring and persuading of the match."²

... "Lord Hay has returned from Scotland, and lives in a little house in Richmond Park, to be near Syon, where his fair mistress stops."³ ...

... "Your Lordship's friend, my Lord Hayes, is not yet married, nor will never get my Lord Northumberland's good will to it."⁴ ...

¹ Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 24th May, 1617.—*Original State Papers*. This Countess of Somerset, a daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, had in 1606 married Lady Northumberland's nephew, the young Earl of Essex, from whom she was divorced in order to confer her hand upon her lover, James's latest favourite, the infamous Robert Carr; who, as well as herself, was now under sentence of death for Overbury's murder. They obtained the royal pardon however. Contrast this leniency towards two convicted poisoners with the treatment which the Earl of Northumberland had met with at the hands of the King.

² The same to the same, 5th July, 1617.—*Ibid.*

³ G. Gerard to D. Carleton, 5th July, 1617.—*Ibid.*

⁴ Lord Forbes to Earl Norton, 9th August, 1617.—*Ibid.*

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. . . . "The Lord Hay thinks it long till the King's coming, that he may consummate his marriage; for the King hath promised to give the bride. He is wonderfully observant and obsequious to her and her mother; and spends most part of his time there, having taken Sir Francis Darcy's house, by Syon, where he makes solemn feasts twice a week at least, with that cost and expence that the Lady of Northumberland dares not so much as once invite him, by reason of his curiosity" (fastidiousness?); "though he be commonly in her house from morning till dinner, from after dinner till supper, from after supper till late in the night."¹ . . .

. . . . "On Thursday the Lord Hay married his mistress the Lady Lucy Percy, and that night the King and Princess honoured his wedding supper with their presence at the Wardrobe."² . . .

"The bride knelt while the King drank her health, and she drank his."³ . . .

And so while the poor Earl lay fuming in his prison, his enemies made merry, "ate the wine possett, threw the left shoes, ran at the ring, with other fooleries," in honour of his daughter's marriage with King James's Scotch favourite.⁴

* * *

In the following year the Countess of Northumberland died at Petworth.⁵ Her untiring efforts to effect her

¹ Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 9th August, 1617.—Birch's *James the First*, vol. ii. p. 27.

² The same to the same, 5th November, 1617.—*Original State Papers*.

³ Sir G. Herbert to Dudley Carleton, 8th November, 1617.—*Ibid*.

⁴ The Earl for a long time obstinately refused to recognise his son-in-law, and on prospects of his speedy liberation being held out to him, informed his daughter that he would scorn to accept freedom by means of the upstart whom she had degraded herself by marrying. "Pride was indeed a leading feature in the character of Northumberland, which misfortunes seem to have had the effect of aggravating, rather than softening."—Aikin's *Memoirs of James I.*

⁵ "August, 1617. Dorotheie, that thrice honorable and right vertuous



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husband's liberation had been not a little thwarted by the uncompromising attitude which he had maintained in the face of the King and his favourites; but he was of too generous a nature not to appreciate the affection she had displayed towards him throughout his adversity. His contemptuous estimate of women, and her own violent and imperious temper, must ever have been a bar to domestic harmony between them; but as years went by their relations appear to have improved, and we are told that after her death his friends found it necessary "to remind the Earl of his former disputes with his wife, in order to lessen his grief at her loss."¹

* * *

Immediately on the birth of his first-born son,² the Earl, conscious of the disadvantage of his own deficient training in that respect, had commenced the compilation of a code of "Instructions" relating to the management of large estates. The document had been left incomplete, but during the weary years of captivity in the Tower he supplemented and revised this MS.,³ and finally added another treatise entitled, "Advice to my Son on his Travels."⁴

Of the former composition he thus summarises the objects:

"First, that you understand yowr Estate generally better than any of yowr Officers.

lady the Countess of Northumberland. Her corps was interred in the Chappell on the 14th of this month."—*Petworth Register*.

¹ See a letter from Sir Gerard Herbert to Dudley Carleton, 10th August, 1619.—*State Papers*.

² He was born in 1597, and died in September of the same year.—See extract from register of St. Clement Danes, London. *Alnwick MSS.*, vol. xiii.

³ The original document is preserved in the library at Petworth. The MS. was transcribed by Mr. Malone, and is printed in full in *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii. p. 306.

⁴ Published in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. iv. p. 374.

"Secondly, that you never suffer your Wyfe to have Poore [power] in the Manage of yowr Affaires.

"Thirdly, that your Giftes and Rewardes be yowr owen, without the Intercession of others."¹

The writer proceeds to lay down elaborate rules under each of these heads, illustrating them by arguments and demonstrations, marked by much shrewdness and worldly wisdom, but blemished by the cynicism inseparable from the doctrine that self-interest is the actuating motive of man, together with an utter disbelief in the moral or intellectual perfectability of women.

His misfortunes had doubtless tended to embitter his feelings, for he speaks with a painful consciousness of the change that had passed over his mind since in happier times he began to compose his "Instructions."

"Wonder not at the Alteration of the Style which perhaps you may fynd; for ether I have got mutche since that Tyme in looking after other Matters more of greater Weights, or loste mutche Forme in Phrase, which Youth commonly pleaseth itselfe with." . . .

Attributing his early pecuniary embarrassments to the want of training and experience in the arts of "governance," and dwelling emphatically upon the shamefulness of incurring debt, "the Mynd being overwearyed with the Sutes of poore People whose Goodes I had, and I could not satisfy,—a Disease that haunteth an honest Mind," and upon the shifts and sacrifices he had to make in order to extricate himself,² he proceeds to lay down rules for his son's guidance in the

¹ The original spelling has been preserved as being more in character with the oddity and quaintness of the sentiments and expressions.

² "Woods were concluded the next means of reliefe, so as the axe was put to the tree. Officers made so speedy sales, as within a few yeares was sold the value of 20,000*l.*, held worth 50,000*l.*; to jewelers and silkmen making their nests in the branches . . . and leaving nothing but the memory of good trees in rotten roots."

A.D. management of his servants,¹ and the administration of
 1564-1632 his lands :

"And this I must truely testify of Servants : and of Experience in all my Fortunes, good and badde : I have found them more reasonable than ether Wyfe, Brothers, or Friends. Why it should be soe is manifest a Wyfe can but be a Woman subject to much Weakness, though with Passions and Desiers as strong, if not stronger, than those of others" and younger brothers are apt to chafe under their inferior position "if their Humors be not satisfied to the full as they conclude is due to them out of the Right of Birth, being born of one Flesh and Blood," and to "tickle their Fancies with the Defence of Equalite to be most just and consonant to Reason." Friends are "soe weakhearted in cases of Adversitie, inclining soe much to the over loving their own Particulars, that the very Respects of common Humanitie and Fortitude hath been cast aside."

The way to secure, on the part of servants, the necessary "Awe, Obedience, Love, Carefulness, Playne Dealing, Contentedness with lesse, and indeede all Thyngs else that belongeth to this Mystery of Governing is to *let them fynd that ye nede them nott*, and that yf one be gonne to day, you can make another do your Business as well to morrow. . . ."

Example is inculcated as a useful element of efficient administration :

"You must labour as mutche as may be that your Servants Opinions be venerable, soe shall yowr Command-

¹ The term must be taken in a wide sense as comprising military officers, and gentlemen employed in situations of trust and confidence, as well as ordinary household servants. The writer says: "Those that you have to govern in your family are of two sortes: the better and the meaner; the better should less direct the greatest businesses than to execute . . . the prime direction being even the masters worke, otherwise shall you be but a master in shew, not in deede."

ments be as Law to them, either out of Love or Conceite. I knowe no better Way that they may find your Mynd inclined to Justice and Severite, than hiding from them any notable Vice to be in yowr own selfe."

Undue suspicion is to be deprecated as much as over confidence :—

" Because Men are Men, you must not thinke to fynde Gods of them for Knowledge, nor Saints for Lyfe. They must be subject to their Affections and Passions, and they will thinke best for those Endes they aime at, although their Conclusions will be but Paralogisms and Ignorances, if well digested, *as most Things under the Sun are.*"

The writer complains of the grasping tendencies of servants who " will pleade Custome, if it be but a Loafe of Bread, or a Canne of Bere, which, when they have it, they will give it to the Dogges rather than loose it, with a Proverb that the Lord payeth for all."

Here is wholesome and judicious counsel :—

" To contente your cheafe Instruments is to give them Hering of that they advise ; if it happen their Counsels to be unsound shew them these Errors out of Reason, and rather make a Faulte of displeasing them, than yield to that you know shall not be good. If there Counsels be sound, or happen to jump with that you had concluded before in the Inward of your Determination, never attribute the same to your owne Will, but to their Advise, soe shall you please them."

These strictures do not bear out the traditional belief in the superior merits of domestic servants in the olden time, as compared with those of the present day. If we may trust the *Instructions*, servants would appear three centuries ago to have possessed most of the faults which are now so commonly laid to the charge of that class. The result of the Earl's experience, however,

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seems to be that servants are very much what their masters make them ; and the moral of his lecture may be summed up in the sensible French axiom : *Mauvaise administration fait mauvais valets.*

Under the third head of the *Instructions* the writer deals with the mischief arising from the proceedings of those sycophants who beset the paths of men in high positions, making themselves the intermediaries between them and the persons in their employment :

"Be but the Giver yourself of yowr owne Giftes, and so these Lyme Twigges can take no hold, nor you remayne other than a free Man and at Lybertie."¹

The most remarkable part of this composition is that relating to the choice and treatment of a wife.

So poor an opinion did the Earl entertain of the capacity of women,² that he would deny them even a voice in the management of their domestic concerns ;³ and it is amusing to find the author of this very capriciously-spelt treatise illustrating the inferiority of the sex by their inability to acquire "true Ortography" or a good literary Style, "for how few can doe, or doeth it."⁴

Women, it is allowed, are by nature in some respects almost the equal of men, for "their Wittes are tempered as ours be," but in the course of their training their moral

¹ Probably in reference to his own misplaced confidence in his agent, Thomas Percy.

² This seems to have been a favourite theme of his, for among the books he purchased while in the Tower is one entitled *Inferiorita della Donna.*

³ As regards women of rank ; in more humble households he admits that wives may be usefully employed in the kitchen, and "in the managing of some Home Causes."

⁴ English orthography has always varied much with the age ; but the Earl of Northumberland, like most of his contemporaries, acknowledged no standard, and frequently spelt the same word in two or three different ways in the course of a single page. Even proper names were subject to this capricious treatment.

sense becomes warped and stunted, so that they are incapable of "Rationtination" and lose the sense of right and wrong, acting only upon example and custom : "not what is modest for them to doe, but sutch and sutch doeth this ; not what is fitt for them and for their Children to weare, out of the Abilities of their Caulings, but sutch and sutch wears this and that ; not that Paynting is an immodest Ornament, but that Paynting is the Fashion ; and so in general, their Affections founded upon what others do, maketh the Fault appere to them a Fault or not, and not the Qualite of the Fault itselfe."

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—

Education can do but little towards remedying the shallowness of woman's intellect :

"If any doe excell their Fellowes in matter of Languages, (as somme Ladies do ;) if it be in French yow shall commonly fynd it noe further improved than to the study of an Amadis ; if in Italian, to the reading of Ariosto ; if in Spanish, to looking upon a *Diana de Monte Maior* ; if in English, our natural Tongue, to an Arcadia or some Love Discourses to make them able to entertain a Stranger upon a Hearth in a Privy Chamber. . . .

"Besides, mark but their Conversation ! In the most parte it is but of Nursery Company ; or, if extraordinary they do converse with Men, what will be their Entertainments, but to tell them they are faiere, proper, witty, and pretty Passages of flattering to gain their good Wishes ?"

It is therefore unreasonable to expect greater Matters of them than such as will make them "as wyse at fifteen as at fifty," since they are incapable of making progress "in any Learning saving in Love, a littel Craft, and a littel Thriftiness, if they are so addicted out of Disposition ; Handsomeness and Trimness being the Idol of there

A.D.
1564-1632

Hartes, till Tyme write deep Wrincles on their For-
heads."¹

Some allowance for female deficiencies must, however,
be made on the score of physical causes, for :

"Their Bodyes you may perceave to be very tender
out of extreme Humidytes, and this doe all our Physitians
agree in ; soe as their Spirits are not held to be of that
Vigour and Robustness as Men's are."

On the subject of matrimony the writer quotes his
personal experiences in these coarse terms :

"In my Choise of a Wyfe it was long ere I made it ; I
had told thirty-one years ere I tooke one, my Resolutions
being grounded upon these Considerations of Choise :

"First, that my Wyfe should nether be oughly in
Boddy, nor in Mynd.

"Secondly, that she should bring with her Meat in her
Mouth to mayntayne her Expençe.

"Lastly, that her Friendes should be of that Conse-
quency that they might appere to be Steps for yow to
better yow^r Fortune. . . .

"My first Ende I attayned to ; the last I mist and grew
out of Hope within one or two Years ; for Essex and I
were at Warres within that Tyme, and Hindrances grew
rather than Love. . . . It is very true I was suttell
enoughe, and knew enoughe of Friendes of this Kynd ;
yet did the seeming Honor of Essex make me carelesse ;

¹ The injustice of these depreciatory comments is the more inexcusable
since the Elizabethan age was singularly rich in learned and accom-
plished Englishwomen. Among them, the Earl's own very strong-
minded cousin, Ann Clifford, Countess of Pembroke, was a conspicuous
example. She is reputed to have read and spoken fluently five
languages ; was noted for her extraordinary capacity for business ;
and, according to her funeral sermon, could converse learnedly on any
subject, "from predestination to slea-silk."—See Whitaker's *Craven*.
In her picture at Skipton Castle she is represented seated at a table
with Eusebius, St. Augustine, Josephus, and the *Arcadia* before her.
The Earl's own daughter Lucy was likewise a striking refutation of his
theory.

the Form of your Mothers Vertu made me negligent ; the honorable Race of boeth of them made me suspect no Collusion, wherein I found many of their Fingers dipt in afterwards, boeth as Actors and Abettors."

In selecting a wife :

"Be sure that she bring with her to buy her Pins whatsoever shall happen, or else yow may repent yow. Tyme will tell yow of many Imperfections in her that Plenty must make Plasters for . . . yet choose you a good Bodye, rather than a fayre Face, for the one will add Advantage to the Persons of your Posterity, the other is commonly a Lewer to call Eagles to the Carcasse."

The practice of wives having their own fortunes settled upon themselves is condemned, and under no circumstances should they be allowed "to keep the Cofers," since "empty Purses be fitter for their Care than full ones, and hardly shall yow fynd the Wyfe of a wyse Man the Possessor of ritche Bagges," . . . on the contrary, if they did save money, "it would goe upon their owen Backes, and the Beefe Potts would be translated into Wardrobbes ; . . . soe as if they can scrape up anything that they may whorde up, it is not for yow."

The danger of "too much Uxorialitie" is strongly insisted upon, and all means should be adopted to prevent a wife from acquiring that influence to which she is certain to aspire, and which weak husbands are apt to concede,¹ "ether esteeming their Wyves Suffisienties at too high a Rate, or for Quiet, lest they (desyring to have Rule) otherwyse would chyde ; or out of Ease, because the Husband would be slotheful, and give himself to his

¹ The writer states that the domestic power of wives is greater in England than in any other country except Germany "where the husband's immeasurable beestlynnesse of drynking causes a necessite for the wyfe to look to the businesse."

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Pleasures; or out of Profitt, knowing the pinching Humours of Wyves, when they betake themselves to Sparing; . . not that I deny that Men should not be good Husbands in wyse Men's Interpretations;" . . . which interpretations would afford to "great Mens Wyfes" full indulgence in such pursuits as properly fall within their sphere, and allow them "to bring up their Children well in their Long-Cote Age, to tender their Healths and Education, and to obey their Husbands . . . to see that their Women . . . kepe the Linen sweete, that spoile be not made of Household Stuff, and to have a Care when great Personages shall visitt, to sitt at an ende of a Table and to carve handsomely." *

They might further be permitted the innocent pastime of "a littell Wasting of Sleeve Silk . . . soe perhaps, in two or three Ages, a Bed, embroidered with Slippes, may be fynished; or, in somme lesse Tyme, a Purse or a paire of Hangers wrought by her owen Hande may be ended."

Although by their position excluded from the ordinary household duties of "Kitching-Buttray-Pantry" the looking after "a Dary is tolerable, for soe may yow have perhaps a Dishe of Butter, a softe Cheese, or some clouted Creme *once in a summer*," and some control might be allowed over "the Poultry and fed Fowle; for a fat Pulletts Legge of my Lady's owen Serving to a good Pallate is a great Virtue."

The maintenance of strict domestic discipline is enjoined as a duty, and remedies are suggested to counteract the various wiles and devices to which young wives are certain to resort with a view to establishing their ascendancy.

* This accomplishment continued to be cultivated by ladies down to a much later period. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu states that she had "taken instruction from a professed carving master" in order to be "perfect in scientifically performing this act" at her father's State dinners.

The tongue being woman's most formidable weapon, special instructions are laid down as to the course to be adopted when a wife begins to rail or scold.

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"Will you be angry then at a poore Woman that understands littell? Will you be disgusted if a Childe doe lyke a Chylde, and creye if he has not his Will? or will you be troobled bycause a Woman chides, if she has not what she desiers?

"You knowe it is not by that that it can last, or, if it doe, the Remedy I have ever found to be best is to lett them talke, and you to kepe the Poore [power] in your owen Handes that yow may do as yow list. Soe as in the one, yow shall curbe them, and in the other yow shall weary them, when they decerne they cannot move yow; for I have often knowen Men not replying, Women have chid themselves oute of Breathe."

Wives when thwarted sometimes threaten to do themselves a personal mischief: in which cases their lords are brutally advised if they should threaten "to kill themselves, to give them a Knife; if to hang themselves, to lend them your Garter; if to caste themselves headlong out of Windows, to open the Casements; and if to sound [swoon] and dye, to let them lye till they come to themselves again; soe as to this Daye I can never hear of any that finished by these mournful Deathes." . . .

A higher tone is taken in the "Advice to my Son on his Travels," in which no point is more strongly inculcated than regard for the feelings and prejudices of other nations:

"Religion is the first thing you are to see rightly to the Honor of God; in whiche I doubt not but that you are so settled as I need but give this Caviat, that, althoughe in their Religion yow shall see many thinges worthy of Scorene in yowr Hart, yet shoe it not in yowr outward Fashons

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... "Yowr Habits should be according to the Fashons of the Nations you live in, soe shall you avoyde being gazed at, Things to Mens eyes not usuall, breeding Wonder

... "Yow must consider the End of yowr Travels is not to learn apishe Iestures, or Fashons of Attyres, or Varietes of costely Meates, but to gayne the Tonges; that hereafter at yowr Leisures yow may discours with them that are dead, if they have left any worth behind them." . . .

The young traveller is enjoined to study the constitution of each country visited, and to make himself acquainted with their laws, more especially those relating to the tenure of land; the produce and manufactures, and the character and organisation of the military force; and to be a careful observer of the manners and habits of the different peoples.

"I wishe yow a skilfulle Sworde, for Peace sake; yet lett it be *slippere-sheathed*, if the Honor of your Master, or your Countrie, or your owne be touched; for those are Duties you owe wherein your Flesh must not be too dear unto you."

While profiting by all things in which he might discern an improvement upon his native usages he is bid:

"Remember that you must die an Englishman, and love your owen Home best; for I knowe not where you can be matcht with soe goode a Blessing as God and yowr Country hath matcht you withal."

The perusal of these compositions can hardly fail to call to mind the *Letters to his Son*, written a century and a-half later, by another Earl of ancient northern lineage, akin to the Percies. The age of armour had then been succeeded by "the age of perruques," and the change which the lapse of those years had worked in the national mind and manners is strongly reflected in the style

and tone of the two writers. The Courts of Elizabeth and Anne, or the Verse of Spenser and Pope, do not present a stronger contrast than the character of the elaborate Code of Instructions in the preparation of which the cynical but kind-hearted Northumberland occupied much of the time of his weary captivity, and that of the witty Letters which the courtly Chesterfield dashed off among the other recreations of his luxurious existence.

The aims of the two writers were as divergent as their style. The Wizard Earl, his temper embittered by a sense of injustice, baffled ambition, ruined fortunes and impaired health; and exaggerating the lessons taught by the experiences of a jarring domestic life, strove to form the character of his son in the hard mould of self-reliance, mistrust of mankind, and the subjection of the affections to personal interests.

The accomplished Diplomatist sought only to make his son a fine gentleman, by the cultivation of the arts of the tailor and the dancing master, and the acquirement of social graces. Neither system was calculated to produce a satisfactory result; but in the one, with much to condemn, there was an element of manliness and directness of purpose, of which there is no trace in the polished maxims of the other. Underlying the theories of the two writers there was, however, a certain identity of thought, which sometimes found expression in almost identical language.

"Believe me, that though men have done more mischief in the world than women, I would not advise you to trust either more than is absolutely necessary. . . .

"If you marry for love you will certainly have some very happy days, and probably some very uneasy ones; if for money, you will have more happy ones, and probably no uneasy ones."^{*}

^{*} Chesterfield's *Letters to his Son*, 1739—1754.

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Northumberland might have written these sentences, but he would never have inculcated, as Chesterfield did, habitual dissimulation ; a passion for play ; a contempt for learning, except for ornamental purposes, or "a genteel carriage and graceful motions with the air of a man of fashion," to be attained by means of "a good dancing master, and some imitation of those who excel ;" nor, with all his cynicism, would the Prisoner in the Tower have laid it down as an incontrovertible proposition that all good actions spring from a bad, mean, or selfish motive ; or have advised his son "to pry into the recesses of men's hearts, and having found their ruling passion, work upon them by it, but never trust them."

It is noteworthy that both fathers equally failed to influence the characters of their sons in the direction contemplated. Their work affords but another illustration of the hopelessness of the attempt to regulate the conduct of individual lives by general maxims.¹ In spite of all the earnest warnings against the danger of being governed through the domestic affections, Algernon Percy became the most devoted and indulgent of husbands to two successive wives ; while the example and teaching of the finest gentleman of his day left Philip Stanhope loutish in manner, slovenly in habit and appearance, and sound in heart.

The compositions of the two Earls may be read with interest and amusement, but the moral they point is a false one. There is more wisdom, good sense and good feeling in the two dozen lines of parting advice to his son, which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of the old Polonius, than in all the laboured pages of Northumber-

¹ "Every man who has seen the world knows that nothing is so useless as a general maxim. . . . Few indeed of the many wise apophthegms that have been uttered, from the time of the seven sages of Greece to that of Poor Richard, have prevented a single foolish action."—Macaulay's *Essays* : "Macchiavelli."

land's "Instructions," or in the several volumes of Chesterfield's brilliant letters. A.D. 1622

* * *

King James I. of England, determined to signalise his fifty-seventh birthday, among other acts of grace, by liberating certain of his nobles from the prison to which in the exercise of his royal pleasure he had consigned them; and his new favourite was despatched as the bearer of this decision, and of the conditions attaching to it.

"Buckingham appeared in the Tower, and conveyed to the Earls of Northumberland, Southampton, and Oxford, the King's command for their liberation on his birthday; but Northumberland is confined within thirty miles compass of Petworth.¹ . . .

"On Sunday afternoon the Earl of Northumberland was released from his long imprisonment in the Tower, whence the Lord of Doncaster went to fetch him to his house with a coach and six horses.² . . .

"*The warders of the Tower make great moan that they have lost such a benefactor.* All the lords and great men about this town go to visit and congratulate the Earl Lord Arundel supped with him the first night, and dined there the next day, whither came likewise, unbidden, the Spanish Ambassador. The Earl continues at Syon for ten days, then goes to Petworth, thence to Penshurst, to see his daughter Lisle, and so on, when he thinks good, within his precincts."³

¹ Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 18th July, 1622.—*State Papers*.

² It was generally stated that the Earl had ordered six horses to be put to his carriage because he had been told that Buckingham had introduced the fashion of driving four horses. Such an act of ostentatious rivalry against a man of the calibre of the royal favourite was far more likely to have originated, as stated by Chamberlain, with James Hay, in his anxiety to do honour to his father-in-law on the occasion of their first meeting.

³ Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 22nd July, 1622.—*Ibid*.

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With what strangely mingled feelings must the liberated prisoner once more have surveyed the outer world from which he had lived secluded for sixteen weary years! He was in the flower of his manhood when the Tower gates had first closed upon him; it was a grey-haired and prematurely bent man who now, under a salute of guns from the batteries,¹ crossed the draw-bridge, and drove through London amid the cheers of the populace, who had assembled in crowds to greet and welcome back the victim of royal injustice and Court intrigue.

Even now, however, James had clogged his tardy act of grace with unworthy conditions. He had taken the precaution of clipping the captive eagle's wings before opening the cage. Never again might Northumberland breathe the free air of his native moors; never revisit the halls of his ancestors amid the ringing shouts of his sturdy Northmen, whose love and allegiance neither the frowns of royalty, nor the absence of many years could impair.

Within the limits of his enlarged prison, contemplating, with the calmness of philosophy, the turmoil of social and political life in which he had ceased to be an actor,² he passed his remaining days among his children, a few tried friends, the learned men who had been the congenial companions of his captivity, and those books which had proved the chief solace of his troubled existence. Petworth was his principal residence, but he paid periodical visits to London and Syon,³ and passed some portion of each year with his daughter at Penshurst.

¹ By command of the King.

² There is no record of his attendance in Parliament after his release from the Tower. Chamberlain writes to Carleton on 22nd February, 1624, that "the Earl of Northumberland was either not called to Parliament, or, if writs *pro forma* were issued, he had been wished to forbear and absent himself."—*State Papers*.

³ Shortly after his liberation he wrote to the Earl of Middlesex

Buckingham was now all powerful, and even if the Earl had been ambitious of restoration to the royal favour, he could not have brought himself to receive it filtered through the hands of the arrogant Court favourite. Indeed he would have found himself sadly out of place amid the crowd of new names and faces, by which the ancient English nobility had been swamped.¹ A.D. 1624

In his retirement, however, it is evident that he continued to watch with interest the progress of public affairs; for he caused his agents to keep him informed of the proceedings in Parliament; and among his papers of this period,² we find full reports of the discussions on that pretension to the exercise of an unquestioned royal

excusing himself for not having returned his visit, as he had no town house (*Earl of Delaware's MSS. Knoll*), but in the following year, 15th November, 1623, Chamberlain informs Carleton that "the Earl of Northumberland has hired Sir Richard Harrison's house in the Minories, and lives there."—*State Papers*.

¹ At no period of English history had honorary distinctions been so lavishly or so indiscriminately bestowed. James had discovered the money value of his patronage, and each grade of rank had now its stipulated price. A baronage cost 6,000*l.*, and the right of enriching themselves by the creation of Peers was among the rewards that the King conferred upon his favourites:—

"The Lord Hay is yet here plotting to get *his two barons* which the King hath bestowed upon him."—Chamberlain to Carleton, 5th April, 1617. "Eight Barons are to be made, and Sir Robert Rich has the benefit of one for procuring Lord Hay's marriage."—The same to the same, 17th January, 1618. The creation of an order of hereditary knighthood now became another fruitful source of revenue:—

"The titles of Baronet, invented by Salisbury, were sold, and two hundred patents of that description were disposed of for so many 1,000*l.*"—Hume's *History of England*, vol. iv. 286. Even simple knighthood, which up to this time had been a much-coveted reward for public service, was now made the means of supplying the King's extravagance. An imitation of the course to which, in his straits for money, Henry III. had once resorted, James caused summonses to be issued through the sheriffs, requiring all persons possessed of 40*l.* a year in land to pay the fees of knighthood, or to compound with the royal commissioners. Charles I. followed this precedent.—See *Fadera*, xvi. p. 350.

² They are preserved among the MSS. at Alnwick Castle in the form of News letters.

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prerogative, which led to such important results a quarter of a century later.

On Charles's accession the Earl once more took his place in Parliament, but only to oppose the attempts of the young King, and the favourite who ruled him, to override constitutional restraints. With the Earls of Arundel, Bristol, and Middlesex, he was conspicuous among the Peers in his championship of the rights and privileges of the House of Commons, whose cause he warmly espoused against all attempts to win him over to the Court. The Duke of Buckingham went so far as to use something approaching to a threat, to induce the Earl to subscribe towards a royal subsidy which Parliament had declined to vote:

"It is common bruit of the Town that your Lordship is resolved to refuse the Loan to the King now on foot. I beg your Lordship to think well of it, before you refuse. This matter is not great, and is generally assented to by the rest of your Rank. To refuse will not advantage your Lordship in the Opinion of others, and will frustrate my endeavour to settle your Lordship and your Children in the King's Favour."¹

Menace was the last argument to which Northumberland would prove amenable:

"Not one of the refractory Lords hath come in," writes a contemporary, "though generally said that Northumberland yielded, but nothing so."²

* * *

¹ Duke of Buckingham to Earl of Northumberland, 1st February, 1627.—*State Papers*.

² Lord Haughton to Sir Thomas Wentworth, 19th May, 1627. The Writer proceeds to inform Charles's future Minister, who was at this time one of the most strenuous opponents of his arbitrary measures, that Buckingham had boasted that he had reduced him to a dilemma for "if you refuse [to pay the Subsidy] you shall run the fortune of the other Delinquents; and if you come in at the last Hour, into the Vineyard, he hopes it will lessen you in the country."—*Stratford Letters*, vol. i. p. 38.

The ninth Earl of Northumberland was one of those men whose faults and vices are patent to all the world, while their higher and nobler qualities are discernible by only the few. He was, moreover, prone to depreciate himself by the profession of a cynicism of which there was no trace in the actuating motives of his life. It is difficult to delineate such a character; but the portrait which he has drawn of himself, if it fails to do justice to his unfailing kindness of heart, his generosity, and his fortitude under afflictions, presents no unfaithful picture of the man's nature:

"I will saye thus much confidently, and boldlye, though not proudly nor arrogantlye, for my defence: I was neuer Extortioner; I neuer gayned by Oppression; I was neuer Perfidious; I neuer ought any Man any thinge that he had not satisfaction for; I neuer sought any Man's Blood; I was euer true to my Prince and Contry howesouer I might be mistaken; and I haue euer held the Course of iuste Proceedings in so highe a Veneration, as I neuer could consente to make a Fault a Vertue in my Freind, and Vice in my Enemy; nor a Vertue in my Enemy other then a Vertue; being sorry with my Harte whensoever I saw a good deede in my Enemye punnishte. Any man that shall hould this ground, shall neuer be esteemed partiall; and he that will not be partiall, the World, I assure you, shall neuer be fearefull howe he will deale with them. Howsoever some doe lay uppon me the Taxe of an euill Nature, when I will not be ledd with their Willes: for the Wiser sorte I dare putt myselff to their Censure; for the Weaker sorte, iff they wilbe angry or unreasonable, I must beare it with patience, and not be angry because they are angry."¹

¹ See the Earl of Northumberland's Letter to Lord Knollys, Appendix XV.

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We catch some pleasant 'glimpses of the old Earl as, with children and grandchildren by his side, he strolled under the magnificent old trees at Petworth, or busied himself among the flower-beds and hot-houses at Syon. "I hope time will bring it about again," he writes in inviting his former secretary, now advanced to the dignity of a peerage and ambassadorship, "that we may commemorate some old passages, and laugh at what is past, joy at the present, and hope for better to come, which none shall be gladder of than your old master."¹

In the summer of 1632 we find him at Penshurst, on his last visit to his favourite daughter. He died a few months later, in his seventieth year, and on the twenty-seventh anniversary of the discovery of the miserable plot which had cast so dark a shadow over his life.²

* * *

Of the ninth Earl of Northumberland's seven brothers, only three survived him.³ William, who is described as "a man of learning and genius,"⁴ appears to have turned these advantages to little account. He was

¹ Earl of Northumberland to Viscount Dorchester, 14th August, 1629. —*State Papers*. And again, a few weeks later: "You may remember having said, when walking under the vine wall at Syon, that you were drunk with eating of grapes. I pray you be drunk again: you may take what you will of any fruits there."—*Ibid*.

² He was buried at Petworth, and from his hasty interment, within twenty-four hours of his decease, we may conclude that he had died of one of those malignant disorders then so prevalent in England.

³ Sir Alan Percy had died of palsy on the 11th November, 1611. Chamberlain writes to Carleton on 27th November:—

"Epsley was long in the Gate House, and being delivered about a fortnight since went that morning to visit Sir Alan Percy, and was the first that discovered him to be dead in his bed."—Birch's *James the First*, vol. i. p. 650.

⁴ Collins.

in constant trouble—at one time in the Tower on a charge of homicide; at another in the Fleet Prison for debt. In 1638 mention is made of him as living obscurely at Oxford, where “he drinks nothing but ale;”¹ and ten years later he is stated to have died “an aged Bachelor, in Penny Farthing Street (Oxford), after he had lived a melancholy and retired life many years; and was buried in the cathedral of Christchurch, near to the grave of Sir Henry Gage, 28th May, 1648.”²

A.D. 1632

George Percy, one of the original “Adventurers for Virginia,” whither he had accompanied Sir Walter Raleigh, is mentioned as being Governor of James Town in 1611³ and as having there married Anne Ffloyd. Of Richard, whose early life gave promise of much military distinction, nothing is recorded after his elder brother’s committal to the Tower, except that he died abroad in 1647.

¹ Letter from the Reverend G. Garrard, 10th May, 1638.—*Strafford Letters*, vol. ii. p. 166.

² *Wood’s MSS.*, Ashmole Museum, 8466, folio 4.

³ *General Historie of Virginia*, by Captain John Smith (London 1627), p. 130.



CHAPTER XIII.

Algernon Percy, Tenth Earl of Northumberland, &c.

Born 29th September, 1602.

Died 13th October, 1668.

*Contemporary
English Sovereigns.*

Elizabeth.

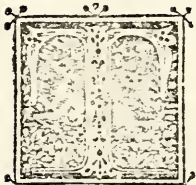
James I.

Charles I.

[Commonwealth, 1649.]

Charles II. *acc.* 1660.

A.D.
1602-1668

“  HE Earl of Northumberland is now a happy man, for God hath blessed him with a yonge soonn, to which Her Majesty intendith to be God Mother.”¹

“ Yesterday was the Earl of Northumberland’s sonne christened at Essex House; the Queen and the Lady Marquise (of Northampton), her deputie, being Godmother; and the Lord Treasurer and Lord Admiral Nottingham, Godfathers. The child is called Algernon, after one of his first Ancestors that came of the House of Brabant. It is thought

¹ Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew, 1st October, 1602.—*Cul. Carew MSS.* vol. iii. p. 345.

